SECOND JOINT DEBATE

At Freeport, Illinois, August 27, 1858.

The following is the full text of the Freeport debate, August 27, 1858, the second in the memorable series of seven, which took place between Senator Douglas and Mr. Lincoln in that year:

Mr. Lincoln's Opening Speech.

Ladies and Gentlemen: On Saturday last, Judge Douglas and myself first met in public discussion. He spoke one hour, I an hour and a half, and he replied for half an hour. The order is now reversed. I am to speak an hour, he an hour and a half, and I am to reply for half an hour. The arrangement to divide myself into two parts, was made for the sole purpose of enabling me to meet Judge Douglas in the midst of the day, instead of having to meet him at the close of the evening's discussion, as I had to do at Ottawa. Of course there was brought within the scope of that half-hour speech at Ottawa, all the matters that were brought within the scope pledged to a belief in the right and duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States Territories.

Q. 7. I desire to know whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any new territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein?

A. I am not generally opposed to honest acquisition of territory; and, in any given place, I would or would not according as circumstances, acquisition might seem to me to present more or less difficulties, and better or worse prospects for getting rid of the slavery question among ourselves. Now, my friends, it will be proper for me to proceed upon an examination of these seven answers, as I have given them. I have only answered that I was not pledged to this, that, or the other. The Judge has not framed his interrogatories to ask me anything more than this, and I have answered in strict accordance with understanding, and have answered truly that I am not pledged to anything in relation to which I have not expressed myself. But I am not disposed to hang upon the exact form of his interrogatories. I am really disposed to take up at least some of these questions, and answer them so that, if I can help it, there shall never be any sham or deception about it. If I cannot answer a question, or do not choose to answer it, I will say so, and I say so frankly here to you and to Judge Douglas. I must say, however, that if I should be of opinion that Congress does possess the constitutional power to exclude slavery from any Territory, I should not be in favor of the exercise of that power unless upon some conservative principle as I conceive it, akin to what I have said in relation to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

My answer as to whether I desire that slavery should be prohibited in all the Territories of the United States is that it is my purpose to so vote, should I be present in Congress, and the question arises, and I have no inclination to vote otherwise than as a Territorial Legislature may desire. I think a Territorial Legislature may properly do what, in relation to the matter, seems to it best; but I am not inclined to say what I think upon the subject, because I do not think it necessary upon me to do so. I am rather inclined to think that it is not necessary upon me to do so, but I am perfectly willing to say that I am in favor of it. I am in favor of it myself, and am pledged to it myself, as far as I can be pledged by my vote. I have said that I am not pledged to the Free State constitution, nor to the Topeka constitution, nor to the Minnesota proposition, nor to the Nebraska bill, nor to any of the things enumerated in the interrogatories, as I understand them; but I am pledged to the right of the people to have slavery or not have slavery, just as they may see fit, and I am pledged to their right to have it prohibited if they choose. I am pledged to that in principle, and I am pledged to it in practice, because I have acted upon it as far as I have had the power. I am pledged to it in the Nebraska bill, and in the application of that principle to the Territories of Utah and New Mexico. I am pledged to it in the Compromise measures of 1850, by which the Territories of Utah and New Mexico were created. I am pledged to it in the principle of the Missouri Compromise line, by the principle that I took part in the establishment of that line. I go for sustaining the whole line of these compromises, and for carrying them out in good faith, and for leaving the people perfectly free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States. I have called the attention of the country to the fact that when he and some others were arguing that they were voting for an increased degree of liberty to the negro in the Territories over and above what they formerly had on the statute books, they were voting for a degree of liberty which was exactly in proportion to be of such unobjectionable character to the people of the Territory of this mode of argument. Mr. Douglas has constantly indulged in argument, in which he made the law—if there was no enforcement—he has expressly declare that the people of a Territory should have the power to exclude slavery if they saw fit. Whenever he has been met by the fact that Judge Douglas himself has voted for the Nebraska bill, which he must know, notwithstanding it expressly declared that the people of the Territory should have the power to exclude slavery if they saw fit, he has been compelled to take refuge in the fact that Judge Douglas thought it was wholly inexplicable. It's a puzzle—a thing altogether beyond the comprehension of such a man as Judge Douglas, that such a decision of the Supreme Court could be arrived at without the voting down of that amendment which he himself had offered. It is inexplicable. It would keep Congress from voting down that which it had previously voted when it was made. Anybody can conceive of that. There is no difficulty or expectation, of such a decision was to be made, but that it was an unreasonable party attitude to get into for the purpose of enabling the people of its members belonging to the same party to reconcile it with the votes they had given on the Nebraska bill. Hence it was that the Supreme Court was compelled on the decision to keep the niche in that law which had been filled with provision. I tell Judge Douglas that it looks to me that he is in a tight place to explain why Chase's amendment was voted down. I don't think he did it himself, and knows why he did it, it was done by his friends, and I think that he knows what that reason was, and can tell what it was. I think, also, that it will be vastly more satisfactory to the country that he should do so than that he should leave it to conjecture. Intelligible reasons for the vote voted down by him to stand upon his dignity and call upon his friends to vote down, he did make his answer and what do you suppose it was? If I had not only taken upon myself to tell the reasons why Judge Douglas voted down Chase's amendment, I would be obliged to show that I had some authority for it; but I am quite unconscious of having taken any responsibility of that sort upon myself. In this case, I am very frank to admit it for the reason that I have no apology that which appeared to me material. I have given it, and I now repeat it. What reason does he propose? That the Chase amendment offered to the amendment expressly authorizing the people to have slavery if they chose, the limits of every territory. General Cass had voted for it, and Judge Douglas would add to his amendment that which General Cass had voted to introduce or exclude, they would set aside.

This is substantially all of his reply to that which I had said before on that they voted his amendment down. I have given, I think, a fair, upon examination, that General Cass had voted for it, and upon the general debate upon that amendment, and upon the call of the ayes and nays, at all. Is not that the fact? So confident was I that I had stated that there was a snake somewhere that I have been to run away from the whole thing. This was an inference from what I had stated, though he took part in the debate his name does not appear in the ayes and nays. Judge Douglas's reply amount to a satisfactory answer? (Cries of "Yes," "Yes," and "No.") There is some little difference of opinion about it. I call your attention to a few more views bearing on the question of whether I have the speeches he makes, of charging falsehood upon his adversaries, myself not others. I say an adversary he is able to find anything that Judge Trumbull, for instance, has said, or in anything that I have said, a justification at all compared with what we have, in this instance, for the sort of weapons.

I have been in the habit of charging that the object of the Nebraska bill was, that in the introduction of the Nebraska bill, there was a conspiracy to make slavery perpetual and national. I have arrived at this from time to time evidence which has come before me, from which I draw this charge. I referred to this evidence in the Ottawa speech, and I will take time to dwell upon it at very length now. I do not intend to charge Douglas in his vanity of half an hour with being a conspirator, so he knows of himself. I propose nothing a few of them.

Judge Douglas insists that, in the first place, there is no reason for the charge, and that charge he thought for a good while he would not notice at all, but finally he has got to discuss about it;—and that he only swore angrily and excited when he found that I insisted upon it as a matter of conscientious, he says he characterized it as a base charge, or as I understood his moral character to that transaction. Well, I did say, and I do say, I repeat that view, that I had implicated his moral character, he is very much in the habit when he arraises me up into a position to be caught or occupying, or very coolly saying he has no doubt Lincoln is "conscientious" in saying so. He should remember that I did not dare what he was altogether "conscientious" in that matter; I can approve it possible for men to conspire to do a good thing, and I really find nothing in Judge Douglas' course or arguments that is inconsistent with the belief of a conspiracy to nationalize slavery. I do not charge that as a good and wicked thing; and as I hope he will understand that I do not at all question but that in all this matter he is entirely "conscientious."

But to draw your attention to one of the points I made in this case. Beginning at the beginning. When the Nebraska bill was introduced in the short time afterwards, by an appendix. I believe, it was provided that it must be considered "the true intent and meaning of the act not to legislate slavery into any State or Territory, or to exclude it therefrom" but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States. I have called the attention to the fact that when he and some others were arguing that they were voting for an increased degree of liberty to the negro in the Territories over and above what they formerly had on the statute books, they were voting for a degree of liberty which was exactly in proportion to be of such unobjectionable character to the people of the Territory of this mode of argument. Mr. Douglas has constantly indulged in argument, in which he made the law—if there was no enforcement—he has expressly declare that the people of a Territory should have the power to exclude slavery if they saw fit. Whenever he has been met by the fact that Judge Douglas himself has voted for the Nebraska bill, which he must know, notwithstanding it expressly declared that the people of the Territory should have the power to exclude slavery if they saw fit, he has been compelled to take refuge in the fact that Judge Douglas thought it was wholly inexplicable. It's a puzzle—a thing altogether beyond the comprehension of such a man as Judge Douglas, that such a decision of the Supreme Court could be arrived at without the voting down of that amendment which he himself had offered. It is inexplicable. It would keep Congress from voting down that which it had previously voted when it was made. Anybody can conceive of that. There is no difficulty or expectation, of such a decision was to be made, but that it was an unreasonable party attitude to get into for the purpose of enabling the people of its members belonging to the same party to reconcile it with the votes they had given on the Nebraska bill. Hence it was that the Supreme Court was compelled on the decision to keep the niche in that law which had been filled with provision. I tell Judge Douglas that it looks to me that he is in a tight place to explain why Chase's amendment was voted down. I don't think he did it himself, and knows why he did it, it was done by his friends, and I think that he knows what that reason was, and can tell what it was. I think, also, that it will be vastly more satisfactory to the country that he should do so than that he should leave it to conjecture. Intelligible reasons for the vote voted down by him to stand upon his dignity and call upon his friends to vote down, he did make his answer and what do you suppose it was? If I had only taken upon myself to tell the reasons why Judge Douglas voted down Chase's, his explanation would be satisfactory to me. I do not feel myself bound to do that. I do not know that I am quite successful or bound to do that. I am very frank to admit it for the reason that I have no apology that which appeared to me material. I have given it, and I now repeat it. What reason does he propose? That the Chase amendment expressly authorizing the people to have slavery if they chose, the limits of every territory. General Cass had voted for it, and Judge Douglas would add to his amendment that which General Cass had voted to introduce or exclude, they would set aside.

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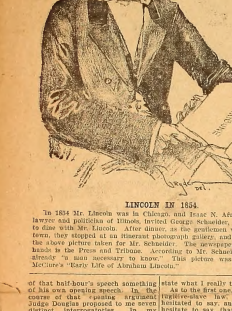
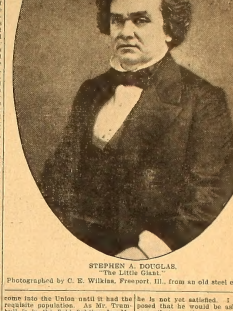


LINCOLN IN 1854.

In 1854 Mr. Lincoln was in Chicago, and Isaac N. Arnold, a prominent lawyer and politician of Illinois, invited George Schneider, a Chicago editor, to dine with Mr. Lincoln. After dinner, as the gentlemen were going downtown, they stopped at an itinerant photograph gallery, and Mr. Lincoln had the above picture taken for Mr. Schneider. Mr. Arnold has kindly loaned the picture to the Press and Tribune. According to Mr. Schneider, Lincoln was already a man successful in his profession. This picture was first printed in McClure's "Early Life of Abraham Lincoln."



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

In 1854.

Photographed by C. E. Wilkins, Freeport, Ill., from an old steel engraving

of that half-hour's speech something of his own opening speech. In the course of it, he said that Lincoln and Judge Douglas proposed to me to make speeches in this place, to which I consented to, and I do not know whether I was to speak one hour or a half. I attended to some other parts of his speech, and incidentally, as I thought, answered one of the interrogatories then. I then distinctly intimated to him that I would answer the rest of his interrogatories on condition only that he should agree to answer as many for me. He made no intimation at the time of the proposition, nor did he in his reply allude at all to that suggestion of mine. I do him no injustice in saying that he occupied at least half of his reply in dealing with me as though I had refused to answer his interrogatories. I now propose to him that inasmuch as I have answered one-half of the interrogatories put by him, he will answer one-half of mine. I will not occupy more than a half hour in replying to him, and I shall then feel myself entitled to another hour. I submit that is but reasonable. I now proceed to answer the interrogatories he has presented to me, and in the order in which he has arranged them.

The first question he thinks I ought to answer is, whether I desire that slavery should be prohibited in all the Territories of the United States by Congressional action. My answer is that I am in favor of it. I am in favor of it myself, and am pledged to it myself, as far as I can be pledged by my vote. I have said that I am not pledged to the Free State constitution, nor to the Topeka constitution, nor to the Minnesota proposition, nor to the Nebraska bill, nor to any of the things enumerated in the interrogatories, as I understand them; but I am pledged to the right of the people to have slavery or not have slavery, just as they may see fit, and I am pledged to their right to have it prohibited if they choose. I am pledged to that in principle, and I am pledged to it in practice, because I have acted upon it as far as I have had the power. I am pledged to it in the Nebraska bill, and in the application of that principle to the Territories of Utah and New Mexico. I am pledged to it in the Compromise measures of 1850, by which the Territories of Utah and New Mexico were created. I am pledged to it in the principle of the Missouri Compromise line, by the principle that I took part in the establishment of that line. I go for sustaining the whole line of these compromises, and for carrying them out in good faith, and for leaving the people perfectly free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States. I have called the attention to the fact that when he and some others were arguing that they were voting for an increased degree of liberty to the negro in the Territories over and above what they formerly had on the statute books, they were voting for a degree of liberty which was exactly in proportion to be of such unobjectionable character to the people of the Territory of this mode of argument. Mr. Douglas has constantly indulged in argument, in which he made the law—if there was no enforcement—he has expressly declare that the people of a Territory should have the power to exclude slavery if they saw fit. Whenever he has been met by the fact that Judge Douglas himself has voted for the Nebraska bill, which he must know, notwithstanding it expressly declared that the people of the Territory should have the power to exclude slavery if they saw fit, he has been compelled to take refuge in the fact that Judge Douglas thought it was wholly inexplicable. It's a puzzle—a thing altogether beyond the comprehension of such a man as Judge Douglas, that such a decision of the Supreme Court could be arrived at without the voting down of that amendment which he himself had offered. It is inexplicable. It would keep Congress from voting down that which it had previously voted when it was made. Anybody can conceive of that. There is no difficulty or expectation, of such a decision was to be made, but that it was an unreasonable party attitude to get into for the purpose of enabling the people of its members belonging to the same party to reconcile it with the votes they had given on the Nebraska bill. Hence it was that the Supreme Court was compelled on the decision to keep the niche in that law which had been filled with provision. I tell Judge Douglas that it looks to me that he is in a tight place to explain why Chase's amendment was voted down. I don't think he did it himself, and knows why he did it, it was done by his friends, and I think that he knows what that reason was, and can tell what it was. I think, also, that it will be vastly more satisfactory to the country that he should do so than that he should leave it to conjecture. Intelligible reasons for the vote voted down by him to stand upon his dignity and call upon his friends to vote down, he did make his answer and what do you suppose it was? If I had only taken upon myself to tell the reasons why Judge Douglas voted down Chase's, his explanation would be satisfactory to me. I do not feel myself bound to do that. I do not know that I am quite successful or bound to do that. I am very frank to admit it for the reason that I have no apology that which appeared to me material. I have given it, and I now repeat it. What reason does he propose? That the Chase amendment expressly authorizing the people to have slavery if they chose, the limits of every territory. General Cass had voted for it, and Judge Douglas would add to his amendment that which General Cass had voted to introduce or exclude, they would set aside.

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come into the Union until it had the requisite population. As Mr. Trumbull has said, I have said in Mr. Lincoln, I would like to have Mr. Douglas's own opinion, I would not like to see whether he is fighting for the principle or the mere letter. I have said that I supposed, with reference to Kansas, it is my opinion that as she has population enough to constitute a state she has the people have the power and the right to make Kansas an exceptional case to the other States of the Union. I have it to be a sound rule of universal application that the people have a right to contain the requisite population for a number of inhabitants justifying admission as a State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States in 1876, and I renewed it during the campaign of 1856, in part because that no Territory of the United States has the right to form a constitution and apply for admission until it had the requisite population. In point of conclusion I proposed that neither Kansas nor any other Territory should be admitted until it had the requisite population. Congress did not act upon that proposition, but containing this general rule that no Territory shall come into the Union until it has attained population. I understand that I stand by that exception. Either Kansas has attained that population, or she has not. Now, I have always been willing that Kansas should form a constitution by the mode and manner prescribed by the territorial act, by the constitution, with whatever population she may have, and apply for admission to Congress as a State; and I have said so in all the other Territories alike. I have said so in Utah, and I say so in Nebraska. I have been willing that each Territory should come in as a State when she has the requisite population, and I am willing now that Kansas shall form a constitution by the mode prescribed in the territorial act, and when she comes with that population she may come in as a State. I have said that in relation to Utah, and I have said it in relation to Nebraska, and I say it in relation to Kansas, and I say it in relation to every Territory in the United States. I have said it in relation to Minnesota, and I say it in relation to every Territory that may hereafter come into the Union. I say it in relation to Oregon, and I say it in relation to Washington. I have said it in relation to every Territory, and I say it now. I have said it in relation to every Territory, and I say it now. I have said it in relation to every Territory, and I say it now

[illegible] that doctrine, and I denounced the article on the floor of the Senate, in a speech which Mr. Lincoln now pretends was against the President. The "Union" had claimed that slavery had a right to go into the free States, and that any provision in the Constitution or laws of the free States to the contrary was null and void. I denounced it in the Senate, as I said before, and I was the first man who did. Lincoln's friends, Trumbull, and Seward, and Hall, and Wilson, and the whole Black Republican side of the Senate were silent. They left it to me to denounce it. And what was the reply made to me on that occasion? Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, got up and undertook to lecture me on the ground that I ought not to have deemed the article worthy of notice, and ought not to have replied to it; that there was not one man, woman, or child south of the Potomac, in any slave State, who did not repudiate any such pretension. Mr. Lincoln knows that that reply was made on the spot, and yet now he asks this question. He might as well ask me, suppose Mr. Lincoln should steal a horse, w uld I sanction it? and it would be as genteel in me to ask him, in the event he stole a horse, what ought to be done with him. He casts an imputation upon the Supreme Court of the United States by supposing that they would violate the Constitution of the United States. I tell him that such a thing in not possible. It would be an act of moral treason that no man on the bench could ever descend to. Mr. Lincoln himself would never in his partisan feelings so far forget what was right as to be guilty of such an act.

The fourth question of Mr. Lincoln is. Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard as to how such acquisition may affect the Union on the slavery question? This question is very ingeniously and cunningly put.

The Black Republican creed lays it down expressly, that under no circumstances shall we acquire any more territory unless slavery is first prohibited in the country. I ask Mr. Lincoln whether he is in favor of that proposition. Are you (addressing Mr. Lincoln) opposed to the acquisition of any more territory, under any circumstances, unless slavery is prohibited in it? That he doesn't like to answer. When I asked him whether he stands up to that article in the platform of his party, he turns, Yankee fashion, and, without answering it, asks me whether I am in favor of acquiring territory without regard to how it may affect the Union on the slavery question. I answer that whenever it becomes necessary, in our growth and progress, to acquire more territory, that I am in favor of it, without reference to the question of slavery, and when we have acquired it, I will leave the people free to do as they please, either to make it slave or free, as they prefer. It is idle to tell either me or you that we have territory enough. Our fathers supposed that we had enough when our territory extended to the Mississippi river, but a few years' growth and expansion satisfied them that we needed more, and the Louisiana territory, from the west branch of the Mississippi to the British possessions, was acquired. Then we acquired Oregon, then California and New Mexico. We have enough now for the present, but this is a young and a growing nation. It swarms as often as a hive of bees, and as new swarms are turned out each year, there must be hives in which they can gather and make their honey. In less than fifteen years, if the same progress which has distinguished this country for the last fifteen years continues, every foot of vacant land between this and the Pacific ocean, owned by the United States, will be occupied. Will you not continue to increase at the end of fifteen years as well as now? I tell you, increase, and multiply, and expand, is the law of this nation's existence. You cannot limit this great republic by mere boundary lines, saying, "Thus far shalt thou go and no further." Any one of you gentlemen might as well say to a son twelve years old that he is big enough, and must not grow any larger, and in order to prevent his growth put a hoop around him to keep him to his present size. What would be the result? Either the hoop must burst and be rent asunder, or the child must die. So it would be with this great nation. With our natural increase, growing at a rapidity unknown in any other part of the globe, with the tide of emigration that is fleeing from despotism in the Old World to seek refuge in our own, there is a constant torrent pouring into this country that requires more land, more territory upon which to settle, and just as fast as our interests and our destiny require additional territory in the North, in the South, or on the islands of the ocean, I am for it, and when we acquire it, will leave the people, according to the Nebraska bill, free to do as they please on the subject of slavery and every other question.

I trust now that Mr. Lincoln will deem himself answered on his four points. He racked his brain so much in devising these four questions that he exhausted himself, and had not strength enough to invent the others. As soon as he is able to hold a council with his advisers, Lovejoy, Farnsworth, and Fred Douglass, he will frame and propound others. ("Good, good.") You Black Republicans who say good, I have no doubt think that they are all good men. I have reason to recollect that some people in this country think that Fred Douglass is a very good man. The last time I came here to make a speech, while talking from the stand to you, people of Freeport, as I am doing today, I saw a carriage, and a magnificent one it was, drive up and take a position on the outside of the crowd; a beautiful young lady was sitting on the box-seat, whilst Fred Douglass and her mother reclined inside, and the owner of the carriage acted as driver. I saw this in your own town. ("What of it?") All I have to say of it is this, that if you Black Republicans think that the negro ought to be on a social equality with your wives and daughters, and ride in a carriage with your wife, whilst you drive the team, you have a perfect right to do so. I am told that one of Fred Douglass's kinsmen, another rich black negro, is now traveling in this part of the State making speeches for his friend Lincoln as the champion of black men. ("What have you to say against it?") All I have to say on that subject is, that those of you who believe that the negro is your equal and ought to be on an equality with you socially, politically, and legally, have a right to entertain those opinions, and of course will vote for Mr. Lincoln.

I have a word to say on Mr. Lincoln's answer to the interrogatories contained in my speech at Ottawa, and which he has pretended to reply to here today. Mr. Lincoln makes a great parade of the fact that I quoted a platform as having been adopted by the Black Republican party at Springfield in 1854, which, it turns out, was adopted at another place. Mr. Lincoln loses sight of the thing itself in his ecstasies over the mistake I made in stating the place where it was done. He thinks that that platform was not adopted on the right "spot."

When I put the direct questions to Mr. Lincoln to ascertain whether he now stands pledged to that creed—to the unconditional repeal of the fugitive-slave law, a refusal to admit any more slave States into the Union even if the people want them, a determination to apply the Wilmot proviso, not only to all the territory we now have, but all that we may hereafter acquire—he refused to answer, and his followers say, in excuse, that the resolutions upon which I based my interrogatories were not adopted at the right "spot." Lincoln and his political friends are great on "spots."

THOS. J. TURNER,
Republican Moderator at Freeport Debate.

In Congress, as a representative of this State, he declared the Mexican war to be unjust and infamous, and would not support it, or acknowledge his own country to be right in the contest, because he said that American blood was not shed on American soil in the right "spot." And now he cannot answer the questions I put to him at Ottawa because the resolutions I read were not adopted at the right "spot." It may be possible that I was led into error as to the spot on which the resolutions I then read were proclaimed, but I was not, and am not in error as to the fact of their forming the basis of the creed of the Republican party when that party was first organized. I will state to you the evidence I had, and upon which I relied for my statement that the resolutions in question were adopted at Springfield on the 5th of October, 1854. Although I was aware that such resolutions had been passed in this district, and nearly all the northern congressional districts and county conventions, I had not noticed whether or not they had been adopted by any State convention. In 1856 a debate arose in Congress between Major T. L. Harris, of the Springfield district, and Mr. Norton, of the Joliet district, on political matters connected with our State, in the course of which Major Harris quoted these resolutions as having been passed by the first Republican State convention that ever assembled in Illinois. I knew that Major Harris was remarkable for his accuracy, that he was a very conscientious and sincere man, and I also noticed that Norton did not question the accuracy of this statement. I therefore took it for granted that it was so, and the other day when I concluded to use the resolutions at Ottawa, I wrote to Charles H. Lanphier, editor of the "State Register," at Springfield, calling his attention to them, telling him that I had been informed that Major Harris was lying sick at Springfield, and desiring him to call upon him and ascertain all the facts concerning the resolutions, the time and the place they were adopted. In reply Mr. Lanphier sent me two copies of his paper, which I have here. The first is a copy of the "State Register," published at Springfield, Mr. Lincoln's own town, on the 16th of October, 1854, only eleven days after the adjournment of the convention, from which I desire to read the following:

During the late discussions in this city, Lincoln made a speech, to which Judge Douglas replied. In Lincoln's speech he took the broad ground that, according to the Declaration of Independence, the whites and blacks are equal. From this he drew the conclusion, which he several times repeated, that the white man had no right to pass laws for the government of the black man without the nigger's consent. This speech of Lincoln's was heard and applauded by all the Abolitionists assembled at Springfield. So soon as Mr. Lincoln was done speaking, Mr. Codding arose and requested all the delegates to the Black Republican convention to withdraw into the Senate chamber. They did so, and after long deliberation, they laid down the following Abolition platform as the platform on which they stood. We call the particular attention of our readers to it.

Then follows the identical platform, word for word, which I read at Ottawa. Now, that was published in Mr. Lincoln's own town, eleven days after the convention was held, and it remained on record up to this day never contradicted.

When I quoted the resolutions at Ottawa and questioned Mr. Lincoln in relation to them, he said that his name was on the committee that reported them, but he did not serve, nor did he think he served, because he was, or thought he was, in Tazewell County at the time the convention was in session. He did not deny that the resolutions were passed by the Springfield convention. He did not know better, and evidently thought that they were, but afterward his friends declared that they had discovered that they varied in some respects from the resolutions passed by that convention. I have shown you that I had good evidence for believing that the resolutions had been passed at Springfield. Mr. Lincoln ought have known better, but not a word is said about his ignorance on the subject, whilst I, notwithstanding the circumstances, am accused of forgery.

Now, I will show you that if I have made a mistake as to place where these resolutions were adopted—and when I get down to Springfield I will investigate the matter and see whether or not I have—the principles they enunciate were adopted as the Black Republican platform ("White, white,") in the various counties and congressional districts throughout the north end of the State in 1854. This platform was adopted in nearly every county that gave a Black Republican majority for the legislature in that year, and here is a man (pointing to Mr. Denio, who sat on the stand near Deacon Bross) who knows as well as any living man that it was the creed of the Black Republican party at that time. I would be willing to call Denio as a witness, or any other honest man belonging to that party. I will now read the resolutions adopted at the Rockford convention on the 30th of August, 1854, which nominated Washburne for Congress. You elected him on the following platform:

Resolved, That the continued and increasing aggressions of slavery in our country are destructive of the best rights of a free people, and that such aggressions cannot be successfully resisted without the united political action of all good men.

Resolved, That the citizens of the United States hold in their hands peaceful, constitutional, and efficient remedy against the encroachments of the slave power, the ballot-box; and if that remedy is boldly and wisely applied, the principles of liberty and eternal justice will be established.

Resolved, That we accept this issue forced upon us by the slave power, and, in defence of freedom, will co-operate and be known as Republicans, pledged to the accomplishment of the following purposes:

To bring the administration of the government back to the control of first principles; to restore Kansas and Nebraska to the position of free Territories; to repeal and entirely abrogate the fugitive-slave law; to restrict slavery to those States in which it exists; to prohibit the admission of any more slave States into the Union; to exclude slavery from all the Territories over which the General Government has exclusive jurisdiction, and to resist the acquisition of any more Territories unless the introduction of slavery therein forever shall have been prohibited.

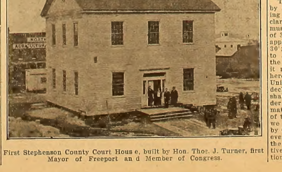
Resolved, That in furtherance of the principles we will use such constitutional and lawful means as shall seem best adapted to their accomplishment, and that we will support no man for office under the General or State Government who is not positively committed to the support of these principles, and whose personal character and conduct is not a guaranty that he is reliable and shall abjure all party allegiance and ties.

Resolved, That we cordially invite persons of all former political parties whatever in favor of the object expressed in the above resolutions to unite with us in carrying them into effect.

Well, you think that is a very good platform, do you not? If you do, if you approve it now, and think it is all right, you will not join with those men who say that I libel you by calling these your principles, will you? Now, Mr. Lincoln complains; Mr. Lincoln charges that I did you and him injustice by saying that this was the platform of your party. I am told that Washburne made a speech in Galena last night, in which he abused me awfully for bringing to light this platform, and on which he was elected to Congress. He thought that you had forgotten it, as he and Mr. Lincoln desired to. He did not deny but that you had adopted it, and that he had subscribed to and was pledged by it, but he did not think it was fair to call it up and remind the people that it was their platform.

But I am glad to find that you are more honest in your abolitionism than your leaders, by avowing that it is your platform, and right in your opinion.

In the adoption of that platform, you not only declared that you would resist the admission of any more slave states, and work for the repeal of the fugitive-slave law, but you pledged yourself not to vote for any man for State or Federal offices who was not committed to these principles. You were thus committed. Similar resolutions to those were adopted in your county convention here; and now with your admissions that they are your platform and embody your sentiments now as they did then, what do you think of Mr. Lincoln, your candidate for the United States Senate, who is attempting to dodge the responsibility of this platform, because it was not adopted in the right spot? I thought that it was adopted in Springfield, but it turns out it was not, that it was adopted at Rockford, and in the various counties which comprise this congressional district. When I get into the next district, I will show that the same platform was adopted there, and so on through the State, until I nail the responsibility of it upon the back of the Black Republican party throughout the State. (A voice: "Couldn't you modify and call it brown?") Not a bit. I thought that you were becoming a little brown when your members in Congress voted for the Crittenden-Montgomery bill, but since you have backed out from that position, and gone back to Abolitionism, you are black and not brown.


First Stephenson County Court House, built by Hon. Thos. J. Turner, first Mayor of Freeport and Member of Congress.

Gentlemen, I have shown you what your platform was in 1854. You still adhere to it. The same platform was adopted by nearly all counties where the Black Republican party had a majority in 1854. I wish now to call your attention to the action of your representatives in the legislature when they assembled together at Springfield. In the first place you must remember that this was the organization of a new party. It is so declared in the resolutions themselves, which say that you are going to dissolve all old party ties and call the new party Republican. The old Whig party was to have its throat cut from ear to ear, and the Democratic party was to be annihilated and blotted out of existence, whilst in lieu of these parties the Black Republican party was to be organized on this Abolition platform. You know who the chief leaders were in breaking up and destroying these two great parties. Lincoln on the one hand and Trumbull on the other, being disappointed politicians, and having retired or been driven to obscurity by an outraged constituency because of their political sins, formed a scheme to Abolitionize the two parties, and lead the old-line Whigs and old-line Democrats captive, bound hand and foot, into the Abolition camp. Giddings, Chase, Fred Douglass, and Lovejoy were here to christen them whenever they were brought in. Lincoln went to work to dissolve the old-line Whig party. Clay was dead, and although the sod was not yet green on his grave, this man undertook to bring into disrepute those great compromise measures of 1850, with which Clay and Webster were identified. Up to 1854 the old Whig party and the Democratic party had stood on a common platform so far as this slavery question was concerned. You Whigs and we Democrats differed about the bank, the tariff, distribution, the specie circular, and the sub-treasury, but we agreed on this slavery question and the true mode of preserving the peace and harmony of the Union. The compromise measures of 1850 were introduced by Clay, were defended by Webster, and supported by Cass, and were approved by Fillmore, and sanctioned by the national men of both parties. They constituted a common plank upon which both Whigs and Democrats stood. In 1852 the Whig party, in its last national convention at Baltimore, indorsed and approved these measures of Clay, and so did the national convention of the Democratic party held that same year. Thus the old-line Whigs and the old-line Democrats stood pledged to the great principle of self-government, which guarantees to the people of each Territory the right to decide the slavery question for themselves. In 1854, after the death of Clay and Webster, Mr. Lincoln, on the part of the Whigs, undertook to Abolitionize the Whig party by dissolving it, transferring the members into the Abolition camp and making them train under Giddings, Fred Douglass, Lovejoy, Chase, Farnsworth, and other Abolition leaders. Trumbull undertook to dissolve the Democratic party by taking old Democrats into the Abolition camp. Mr. Lincoln was aided in his efforts by many leading Whigs throughout the State—your member of Congress, Mr. Washburne, being one of the most active. Trumbull was aided by many renegades from the Democratic party, among whom were John Wentworth, Tom Turner, and others with whom you are familiar.

Mr. Turner, who was one of the moderates, here interposed, and said that he had drawn the resolutions which Senator Douglas had read.

Mr. Douglas: Yes, and Turner says that he drew these resolutions. ("Hurrah for Turner!" "Hurrah for Douglas!") That is right; give Turner cheers for drawing the resolutions, if you approve them. If he drew those resolutions, he will not deny that they are the creed of the Black Republican party.

Mr. Turner: They are our creed exactly.

Mr. Douglas. And yet Lincoln denies that he stands on them. Mr. Turner says that the creed of the Black Republican party is the admission of no more slave States, and yet Mr. Lincoln declares that he would not like to be placed in a position where he would have to vote for them. All I have to say to friend Lincoln is, that I do not think there is much danger of his being placed in such a position. As Mr. Lincoln would be very sorry to be placed in such an embarrassing position as to be obliged to vote on the admission of any more slave States, I propose, out of mere kindness, to relieve him from any such necessity. When the bargain between Lincoln and Trumbull was completed for Abolitionizing the Whig and Democratic parties, they "spread" over the State, Lincoln still pretending to be an old-line Whig, in order to "rope in" the Whigs, and Trumbull pretending to be as good a Democrat as he ever was, in order to coax the Democrats over into the Abolition ranks. They played the part that "decoy ducks" play down on the Potomac river. In that part of the country they make artificial ducks, and put them on water in places where the wild ducks are to be found, for the purpose of decoying them. Well, Lincoln and Trumbull played the part of these "decoy ducks," and deceived enough old-line Whigs and old-line Democrats to elect a Black Republican legislature. When that legislature met, the first thing it did was to elect as Speaker of the House the very man who is now boasting that he wrote the Abolition platform on which Lincoln will not stand. I want to know of Mr. Turner whether or not, when he was elected, he was a good embodiment of Republican principles?

Mr. Turner: I hope I was then and am now.

Mr. Douglas: He swears that he hopes he was then and is now. He wrote that Black Republican platform, and is satisfied with it now. I admire and acknowledge Turner's honesty. Every man of you knows what he says about these resolutions being the platform of the Black Republican party is true, and you also know that each one of these men who are shuffling and trying to deny it is only trying to cheat the people out of their votes for the purpose of deceiving them still more after the election. I propose to trace this thing a little further, in order that you can see what additional evidence there is to fasten this revolutionary platform upon the Black Republican party. When the legislature assembled, there was a United States senator to elect in the place of General Shields, and before they proceeded to ballot, Lovejoy insisted on laying down certain principles by which to govern the party. It has been published to the world and satisfactorily proven that there was, at the time the alliance was made between Trumbull and Lincoln to Abolitionize the two parties, an agreement that Lincoln should take Shields' place in the United States Senate, and Trumbull should have mine so soon as they could conveniently get rid of me. When Lincoln was beaten for Shields' place, in a manner I will refer to in a few minutes, he felt very sore and restive; his friends grumbled, and some of them came out and charged that the most infamous treachery had been practiced against him; that the bargain was that Lincoln was to have had Shields' place, and Trumbull was to have waited for mine, but that Trumbull, having the control of a few Abolitionized Democrats, prevented them from voting for Lincoln, thus keeping him within a few votes of an election until he succeeded in forcing the party to drop him and elect Trumbull. Well, Trumbull having cheated Lincoln, his friends made a fuss, and in order to keep them and Lincoln quiet, the party were obliged to come forward, in advance, at the last State election, and make a pledge that they would go for Lincoln and nobody else. Lincoln could not be silenced in any other way.

Now, there are a great many Black Republicans of you who do not know this thing was done. ("White, white," and great clamor.) I wish to remind you that while Mr. Lincoln was speaking there was not a Democrat vulgar and blackguard enough to interrupt. But I know that the shoe is pinching you. I am clinching Lincoln now, and you are scared to death for the result. I have seen this thing before. I have seen men make appointments for joint discussions, and, the moment their man has been heard, try to interrupt and prevent a fair hearing of the other side. I have seen your mobs before, and defy your wrath. (Tremendous applause.) My friends, do not cheer, for I need my whole time. The object of the opposition is to occupy my attention in order to prevent me from giving the whole evidence and nailing this double dealing on the Black Republican party. As I have before said, Lovejoy demanded a declaration of principles on the part of the Black Republicans of the legislature before going into an election for United States Senator. He offered the following preamble and resolutions which I hold in my hand:

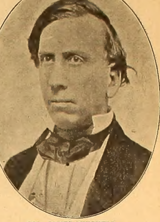
Whereas, Human slavery is a violation of the principles of natural and revealed rights; and whereas, the fathers of the Revolution, fully imbued with the spirit of these principles, declared freedom to be the inalienable birthright of all men; and whereas, the preamble to the Constitution of the United States avers that that instrument was ordained to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity; and whereas, in furtherance of the above principles, slavery was forever prohibited in the old Northwest Territory, and more recently in all that territory lying west and north of the State of Missouri by the act of the Federal Government; and whereas, the repeal of the prohibition last referred to was contrary to the wishes of the people of Illinois, a violation of an implied compact, long deemed sacred by the citizens of the United States, and a wide departure from the uniform action of the General Government in relation to the extension of slavery; therefore,

Resolved, by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring therein, That our senators in Congress be instructed, and our representatives be requested to introduce, if not otherwise introduced, and to vote for a bill to restore such prohibition to the aforesaid Territories, and also to extend a similar prohibition to all territory which now belongs to the United States, or which may hereafter come under their jurisdiction.

Resolved, That our senators in Congress be instructed, and our representatives requested, to vote against the admission of any State into the Union, the constitution of which does not prohibit slavery, whether the territory out of which such State may have been formed shall have been acquired by conquest, treaty, purchase, or from original territory of the United States.

Resolved, That our senators in Congress be instructed, and our representatives requested, to introduce and vote for a bill to repeal an act entitled "An act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the services of their masters"; and, failing that, for such a modification of it as shall secure the right of habeas corpus trial by jury before the regularly constituted authorities of the State, to all persons claimed as owing service or labor.

Those resolutions were introduced by Mr. Lovejoy immediately preceding the election of senator. They declared first, that the Wilmot proviso must be applied to all territory north of 36° 30'; secondly, that it must be applied to all territory south of 36° 30'; thirdly, that it must be applied to all the territory now owned by the United States; and finally, that it must be applied to all territory hereafter to be acquired by the United States. The next resolution declares that no more slave States shall be admitted into this Union under any circumstances whatever, no matter whether they are formed out of territory now owned by us or that we may hereafter acquire, by treaty, by Congress, or in any manner whatever. The next resolution demands the unconditional repeal of the fugitive-slave law, although its unconditional repeal would leave no provision for carrying out that clause of the Constitution of the United States which guarantees the surrender of fugitives. If they could not get an unconditional repeal, they demanded that that law should be so modified as to make it as nearly useless as possible. Now, I want to show you who voted for these resolutions. When the vote was taken on the first resolution, it was decided in the affirmative—yeas 41, nays 32. You will find that this is a strict party vote, between the Democrats on the one hand, and the Black Republicans on the other. (Cries of "White, white," and clamor.) I know your name, and always call things by their right name. The point I wish to call your attention to is this: that these resolutions were adopted on the 7th day of February, and that on the 8th they went into an election for a United States senator, and that day every man who voted for these resolutions, with but two exceptions, voted for Lincoln for the United States Senate. ("Give us their names.") I will read the names over to you if you want them, but I believe your object is to occupy my time.


COL. JAMES MITCHELL,
An old citizen of Freeport, Democratic Moderator Aug. 27, 1858.

On the next resolution the vote stood, yeas 33, nays 40; and on the third resolution, yeas 35, nays 47. I wish to impress upon you that every man who voted for those resolutions, with but two exceptions, voted on the next day for Lincoln for United States senator. Bear in mind that the members who thus voted for Lincoln were elected to the legislature pledged to vote for no man for office under the State or Federal Government who was not committed to this Black Republican platform. They were all so pledged. Mr. Turner, who stands by me, and who then represented you, and who says that he wrote those resolutions, voted for Lincoln, when he was pledged not to do so unless Lincoln was in favor of those resolutions. I now ask Mr. Turner (turning to Mr. Turner), did you violate your pledge in voting for Mr. Lincoln, or did he commit himself to your platform before you cast your vote for him?

I could go through the whole list of names here and show you that all the Black Republicans in the legislature, who voted for Mr. Lincoln, had voted on the day previous for these resolutions. For instance, here are the names of Sargent and Little, of JoDaviess and Carroll; Thomas J. Turner, of Stephenson; Lawrence, of Boone and McHenry; Swan, of Lake; Pinckney, of Ogle county; and Lyman, of Winnebago. Thus you see every member from your congressional district voted for Mr. Lincoln, and they were pledged not to vote for him unless he was committed to the doctrine of no more slave States, the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, and the repeal of the fugitive-slave law. Mr. Lincoln tells you today that he is not pledged to any such doctrine. Either Mr. Lincoln was then committed to those propositions, or Mr. Turner violated his pledges to you when he voted for him. Either Lincoln was pledged to each one of those propositions, or else every Black Republican representative from this congressional district violated his pledge of honor to his constituents by voting for him. I ask you which horn of the dilemma will you take? Will you hold Lincoln up to the platform of his party, or will you accuse every representative you had in the legislature of violating his pledge of honor to his constituents? There is no escape for you. Either Mr. Lincoln was committed to those propositions, or your members violated their faith. Take either horn of the dilemma you choose. There is no dodging the question; I want Lincoln's answer. He says he was not pledged to repeal the fugitive-slave law, that he does not quite like to do it; he will not introduce a law to repeal it, but thinks there ought to be some law; he does not tell what it ought to be; upon the whole, he is altogether undecided, and don't know what to think or do. That is the substance of his answer upon the repeal of the fugitive-slave law. I put the question to him distinctly, whether he indorsed that part of the Black Republican platform which calls for the entire abrogation and repeal of the fugitive-slave law. He answers, no!—that he does not indorse that; but he does not tell what he is for, or what he will vote for. His answer is, in fact, no answer at all. Why cannot he speak out and say what he is for and what he will do?

In regard to there being no more slave States, he is not pledged to that. He would not like, he says, to be put in a position where he would have to vote one way or another upon that question. I pray you, do not put him in a position that would embarrass him so much. Gentlemen, if he goes to the Senate he may be put in that position, and then which way will he vote? (A voice: "How will you vote?") I will vote for the admission of just such a State as by the form of their constitution the people show they want. If they want slavery, they shall have it; if they prohibit slavery, it shall be prohibited. They can form their institutions to please themselves, subject only to the Constitution; and I for one stand ready to receive them into the Union. Why cannot your Black Republican candidates talk out as plain as that when they are questioned?

I do not want to cheat any man out of his vote. No man is deceived in regard to my principles if I have the power to express myself in terms explicit enough to convey my ideas.

Mr. Lincoln made a speech when he was nominated for the United States Senate which covers all these Abolition platforms. He there lays down a proposition so broad in its Abolitionism as to cover the whole ground.

In my opinion it (the slavery agitation) will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States—old as well as new, North as well as South.

There you find that Mr. Lincoln lays down the doctrine that this Union cannot endure divided as our fathers made it, with free and slave States. He says they must all become one thing or all the other; that they must all be free or all slave, or else the Union cannot continue to exist. It being his opinion that to admit any more slave States, to continue to divide the Union into free and slave States, will dissolve it, I want to know of Mr. Lincoln whether he will vote for the admission of another slave State.

He tells you the Union cannot exist unless the States are all free or all slave; he tells you that he is opposed to making them all slave, and hence he is making them all free, in order that the Union may exist; and yet he will not say that he will not vote against another slave State, knowing that the Union must be dissolved if he votes for it. I ask you if that is fair dealing? The true intent and inevitable conclusion to be drawn from his first Springfield speech is, that he is opposed to the admission of any more slave States under any circumstances. If he is so opposed, why not say so? If he believes this Union cannot endure divided into free and slave States, that they must all become free in order to save the Union, he is bound as an honest man, to vote against any more slave States. If he believes it he is bound to do it. Show me that it is my duty in order to save the Union to do a particular act, and I will do it if the Constitution does not prohibit it. I am not for the dissolution of the Union under any circumstances. I will pursue no course of conduct that will give just cause for the dissolution of the Union. The hope of the friends of freedom throughout the world rests upon the perpetuity of this Union. The downtrodden and oppressed people who are suffering under European despotism all look with with hope and anxiety to the American Union as the only resting-place and permanent home of freedom and self-government.

Mr. Lincoln says that he believes that this Union cannot continue to endure with slave States in it, and yet he will not tell you distinctly whether he will vote for or against the admission of any more slave States, but says he would not like to be put to the test. I do not think that the people of Illinois desire a man to represent them who would not like to be put to the test on the performance of a high constitutional duty. I will retire in shame from the Senate of the United States when I am not willing to be put to the test in the performance of my duty. I have been put to severe tests. I have stood by my principles in fair weather and in foul, in the sunshine and in the rain. I have defended the great principles of self-government here among you when Northern sentiment ran in a torrent against me, and I have defended that same great principle when Southern sentiment came down like an avalanche upon me. I was not afraid of any test they put to me. I knew I was right—I knew my principles were sound—I knew the people would see in the end that I had done right, and I knew that the God of Heaven would smile upon me if I was faithful in the performance of my duty.

Mr. Lincoln makes a charge of corruption against the Supreme Court of the United States, and two Presidents of the United States, and attempts to bolster it up by saying that I did the same against the Washington "Union." Suppose I did make that charge of corruption against the Washington "Union," when it was true, does that justify him in making a false charge against me and others? That is the question I would put. He says that at the time the Nebraska bill was introduced, and before it was passed, there was a conspiracy between the judges of the Supreme Court, President Pierce, President Buchanan and myself by that bill, and the decision of the court, to break down the barrier and establish slavery all over the Union. Does he know that that charge in historically false as against President Buchanan? He knows that Mr. Buchanan was at that time in England, representing this country with distinguished ability, at the court of St. James, that he was there for a long time before, and did not return for a year or more after. He knows that to be true, and that fact proves his charge to be false as against Mr. Buchanan. Then again, I wish to call his attention to the

fact that at the time the Nebraska bill was passed, the Dred Scott case was not before the Supreme Court at all; it was not upon the docket of the Supreme Court; it had not been brought there, and the judges in all probability knew nothing of it. Thus the history of the country proves the charge to be false as against them. As to President Pierce, his character as a man of integrity and honor is enough to vindicate him from such a charge; and as to myself, I pronounce the charge an infamous lie, whenever and wherever made, and by whomsoever made. I am willing that Mr. Lincoln should go and rake up every public act of mine, every measure I have introduced, report I have made, speech delivered, and criticize them; but when he charges upon me a corrupt conspiracy for the purpose of perverting the institutions of the country, I brand it as it deserves. I say the history of the country proves it to be false, and that it could not have been possible at the time. But now he tries to protect himself in this charge, because I have made a charge against the Washington "Union." My speech in the Senate against the Washington "Union" was made because it advocated a revolutionary doctrine, by declaring that the free States had not the right to prohibit slavery within their own limits. Because I made that charge against the Washington "Union," Mr. Lincoln says it was a charge against Mr. Buchanan. Suppose it was; is Mr. Lincoln the peculiar defender of Mr. Buchanan? Is he so interested in the Federal administration, and so bound to it, that he must jump to the rescue and defend it from every attack that I may make against it? I understand the whole thing. The Washington "Union," under that most corrupt of all men, Cornelius Wendell, is advocating Mr. Lincoln's claim to the Senate. Wendell was the printer of the last Black Republican House of Representatives; he was a candidate before the present Democratic House, but was ignominiously kicked out, and then he took the money which he had made out of the public printing by means of the Black Republicans, bought the Washington "Union," and is now publishing it in the name of the Democratic party, and advocating Mr. Lincoln's election to the Senate. Mr. Lincoln therefore considers an attack upon Wendell and his corrupt gang as a personal attack upon him. This only proves what I have charged, that there is an alliance between Lincoln and his supporters, and the Federal office-holders of this State, and presidential aspirants out of it, to break me down at home.

Mr. Lincoln feels bound to come in to the rescue of the Washington "Union." In that speech which I delivered in answer to the Washington "Union," I made it distinctly against the "Union" alone. I did not choose to go beyond that. If I have occasion to attack the President's conduct, I will do it in language that will not be misunderstood. When I differed with the President I spoke out so that you all heard me. That question passed away; it resulted in the triumph of my principle by allowing the people to do as they please, and there is an end of the controversy. Whenever the great principle of self-government—the right of the people to make their own constitution, and come into the Union with slavery or without it, as they see proper—shall again arise, you will find me standing firm in defense of that principle, and fighting whoever fights it. If Mr. Buchanan stands, as I doubt not he will, by the recommendation contained in his message, that hereafter all State constitutions ought to be submitted to the people before the admission of the State into the Union, he will find me standing by him firmly, shoulder to shoulder, in carrying it out. I know Mr. Lincoln's object, he wants to divide the Democratic party, in order that he may defeat me and go to the Senate.

(Mr. Douglas's time here expired, and he stopped on the moment).

Mr. Lincoln's Rejoinder in the Freeport Joint Debate.

My Friends: It will readily occur to you that I cannot in half an hour notice all the things that so able a man as Judge Douglas can say in an hour and a half, and I hope, therefore, if there be anything that he has said upon which you would like to hear something from me, but which I omit to comment upon, you will bear in mind that it would be expecting an impossibility for me to go over his whole ground. I can but take up some of the points that he has dwelt upon, and employ my half hour specially on them.

The first thing I have to say to you is a word in regard to Judge Douglas's declaration about the "vulgarity and blackguardism" in the audience—that no s ch thing, as he says, was shown by any Democrat while I was speaking. Now I only wish, by way of reply on this subject, to say that while I was speaking I used no "vulgarity or blackguardism" toward any Democrat.

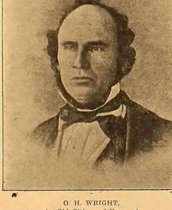
Now, my friends, I come to all this long portion of the judge's speech—perhaps half of it—which he has devoted to the various resolutions and platforms that have been adopted in the different counties, in the different congressional districts, and in the Illinois legislature—which he supposes are at variance with the positions I have assumed before you today. It is true that many of these resolutions are at variance with the positions I have here assumed. All I have to ask is that we talk reasonably and rationally about it. I happen to know, the judge's opinion to the contrary, notwithstanding, that I have never tried to conceal my opinions, nor tried to deceive any one in reference to them. He may go and examine all the members who voted for me for United States senator in 1855, after the election of 1854. They were pledged to certain things here at home, and were determined to have pledges from me, and if he will find any of these persons who will tell him anything inconsistent with what I say now, I will retire from the race, and give him no more trouble.

The plain truth is this. At the introduction of the Nebraska policy, we believed there was a new era being introduced in the history of the republic, which tended to the spread and perpetuation of slavery. But in our opposition to that measure we did not agree with one another in everything. The people in the north end of the State were for stronger measures of opposition than we of the central and southern portions of the State, but we were all opposed to the Nebraska doctrine. We had that one feeling and that one sentiment in common. You at the north end met in your conventions and passed your resolutions. We in the middle of the State and further south did not hold such conventions and pass the same resolutions, although we had in general a common view and a common sentiment. So that these meetings which the judge has alluded to, and the resolutions he has read from, were local, and did not spread over the whole state. We at last met together in 1856, from all parts of the State, and we agreed upon a common platform. You who held more extreme notions, either yielded those notions, or if not wholly yielding them, agreed to yield them practically, for the sake of embodying the opposition to the measures which the opposite party were pushing forward at the time. We met you then, and if there was anything yielded, it was for practical purposes. We agreed then upon a platform for the party throughout the entire State of Illinois, and now we are all bound, as a party, to that platform. And I say here to you, if any one expects of me, in the case of my election, that I will do anything not signified by our Republican platform and my answers here today, I tell you very frankly that person will be deceived. I do not ask for the vote of any one who supposes that I have secret purposes or pledges that I dare not speak out. Cannot the judge be satisfied? If he fears, in the unfortunate case of my election, that my going to Washington will enable me to advocate sentiments contrary to those which I expressed when you voted for and elected me, I assure him that his fears are wholly needless and groundless. Is the j dge really afraid of any such thing? I'll tell you what he is afraid of. He is afraid that we'll all pull together. This is what alarms him more than anything else. For my part, I do hope that all of us, entertaining a common sentiment in opposition to what appears to us a design to nationalize and perpetuate slavery, will waive minor differences on questions which either belong to the dead past or the distant future, and all pull together in this struggle. What are your sentiments? If it be true that on the ground which I occupy—ground which I occupy as frankly and boldly as Judge Douglas does his—my views, though partly coinciding with yours, are not as perfectly in accordance with your feelings as his are, I do say to you in all candor, go for him and not for me. I hope to deal in all things fairly with Judge Douglas, and with the people of the State, in this contest. And if I should ever be elected to any office, I trust I may go down with no stain of falsehood upon my reputation, notwithstanding the hard opinions Judge Douglas chooses to entertain of me.

The judge has again addressed himself to the Abolition tendencies of a speech of mine, made at Springfield in June last. I have so often tried to answer what he is always saying on that melancholy theme, that I almost turn with disgust from the discussion—from the repetition of an answer to it. I trust that nearly all of this intelligent audience have read that speech. If you have, I may venture to leave it to you to inspect it closely, and see whether it contains any of those "bugaboos" which frighten Judge Douglas.

The judge complains that I did not fully answer his questions. If I have the sense to comprehend and answer those questions, I have done so fairly. If it can be pointed out to me how I can more fully and fairly answer him, I will do it—but I aver I have not the sense to see how it is to be done. He says I do not declare I would in any event vote for the admission of a slave State into the Union. If I have been fairly reported, he will see that I did give an explicit answer to his interrogatories. I did not merely say that I would dislike to be put to the test; but I said clearly, if I were put to the test, and a Territory from which slavery had been excluded should present herself with a State constitution sanctioning slavery—a most extraordinary thing and wholly unlikely to happen—I did not see how I could avoid voting for her admission. But he refuses to understand that I said so, and he wants this audience to understand that I did not say so. Yet it will be reported in the printed speech that he cannot help seeing it.

He says if I should vote for the admission of a slave State I would be voting for a dissolution of the Union, because I hold that the Union cannot permanently exist half slave and half free. I repeat that I do not believe this government can endure



O. H. WRIGHT,
An Old Citizen of Freeport.

permanently half slave and half free, yet I do not admit, nor does it at all follow, that the admission of a single slave State will permanently fix the character and establish this as a universal slave nation. The judge is very happy indeed at working up these quibbles. Before leaving the subject of answering questions, I aver as my confident belief, when you come to see our speeches in print, that you will find every question which he has asked me more fairly and boldly and fully answered than he has answered those which I put to him. Is not that so? The two speeches may be placed side by side; and I will venture to leave it to impartial judges whether his questions have been more directly and circumstantially answered than mine.

Judge Douglas says he made a charge upon the editor of the Washington "Union," alone, of entertaining a purpose to rob the States of their power to exclude slavery from their limits. I undertake to say, and I make the direct issue, that he did not make his charge against the editor of the "Union" alone. I will undertake to prove by the record here that he made that charge against more and higher dignitaries than the editor of the Washington "Union." I am quite aware that he was shirking and dodging around the form in which he put it, but I can make it manifest that he leveled his "fatal blow" against more persons than this Washington editor. Will he dodge it now by alleging that I am trying to defend Mr. Buchanan against the charge? Not at all. Am I not making the same charge myself? I am trying to show that you, Judge Douglas, are a witness on my side. I am not defending Buchanan, and I will tell Judge Douglas that in my opinion when he made that charge he had an eye farther north than he was today. He was then fighting against people who called him a Black Republican and an Abolitionist. It is mixed all through his speech, and it is tolerably manifest that his eye was a great deal farther north than it is today. The judge says that though he made this charge, Toombs got up and declared there was not a man in the United States, except the editor of the "Union," who was in favor of the doctrines put forth in that article. And thereupon I understand that the judge withdrew the charge. Although he had taken ext acts from the newspaper, and then from the Lecompton constitution, to show the existence of a conspiracy to bring about a "fatal blow," by which the States were to be deprived of the right of excluding slavery, it all went to pot as soon as Toombs got up and told him it was not true. It reminds me of the story that John Phoenix, the California railroad surveyor, tells. He says they started out from the Plaza to the Mission of the Dolores. They had two ways of determining distances. One was by a chain and pins taken over the ground; the other was by a "go-it-ometer,"—an invention of his own—a three-legged instrument, with which he computed a series of triangles between th points. At night he turned to the chain-man to ascertain what distance they had come, and found that by some mistake he had merely dragged the chain over the ground without keeping any record. By the "go-it-ometer" he found he had made ten miles. Being skeptical about this he asked a drayman who was passing how far it was to the Plaza. The drayman replied it was just half a mile, and the surveyor put it down in his book—just as Judge Douglas says after he had made his calculations and computations, he took Toombs's statement. I have no doubt that after Judge Douglas had made his charge, he was as easily satisfied about its truth as the surveyor was of the drayman's statement of the distance to the Plaza. Yet it is a fact that the man who put forth all that matter which Douglas deemed a "fatal blow" at State sovereignty, was elected by the Democrats as public printer.

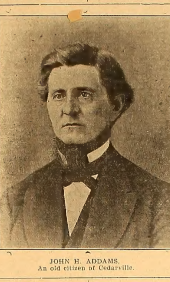
Now, gentlemen, you may take Judge Douglas's speech of March 22, 1858, beginning about the middle of page 21, and reading to the bottom of page 24, you will find the evidence on which I say that he did not make his charge against the editor of the "Union" alone. I cannot stop to read it, but I will give it to the reporters. Judge Douglas said:

> Mr. President, you here find several distinct propositions advanced boldly by the Washington "Union" editorially, and apparently authoritatively, and every man who questions any of them is denounced as an Abolitionist, a free-soiler, a fanatic. The propositions are: first, that the primary object of all government at its original institution is the protection of persons and property; second, that the Constitution of the United States declares that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States; and that, therefore, thirdly, all State laws, whether organic or otherwise, which prohibit the citizens of one State from settling in another with their slave property, and especially declaring it forfeited, are direct violations of the original intention of the government and Constitution of the United States; and fourth, that the emancipation of the slaves of the Northern States was a gross outrage on the rights of property, inasmuch as it was involuntarily done on the part of the owner.
>
> Remember that this article was published in the "Union" on the 17th of November, and on the 18th appeared the first article giving the adhesion of the "Union" to the Lecompton constitution. It was in these words:
>
> "Kansas and her constitution.—The vexed question is settled. The problem is solved. The dead point of danger is passed. All serious trouble to Kansas affairs is over and gone."
>
> Then a column, nearly, of the same sort. Then, when you come to look into the Lecompton constitution, you will find the same doctrine incorporated in it which was put forth editorially in the "Union." What is it?
>
> "Article 7, Section 1. The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction; and the right of the owner of a slave to such slave and its increase is the same and as invariable as the right of the owner of any property whatever."
>
> Then in the schedule is a provision that the constitution may be amended after 1864 by a two-thirds vote.
>
> "But no alteration shall be made to affect the right of property in the ownership of slaves."
>
> It will be seen by these clauses in the Lecompton constitution that they are identical in spirit with this authoritative article in the Washington "Union" of the day previous to its indorsement of this constitution.
>
> When I saw that article in the "Union" of the 17th of November, followed by the glorification of the Lecompton constitution on the 18th of November, and this clause in the constitution asserting the doctrine that a State has no right to prohibit slavery within its limits, I saw that there was a fatal blow being struck at the sovereignty of the States of this Union.

Here he says, "Mr. President, you here find several distinct propositions advanced boldly, and apparently authoritatively." By whose authority, Judge Douglas? Again, he says in another place, "It will be seen by these clauses in the Lecompton constitution that they are identical in spirit with this authoritative article." By whose authority? Who do you mean to say authorized the publication of these articles? He knows the Washington "Union" is considered the organ of the administration. I demand of Judge Douglas by whose authority he meant to say those articles were published, if not by the authority of the President of the United States and his cabinet? I defy him to show whom he referred to, if not to these high functionaries in the Federal Government. More than this, he says the articles in that paper and the provisions of the Lecompton constitution are "identical," and being identical, he argues that the authors are co-operating and conspiring together. He does not use the word "conspiring," but what other construction can you put upon it? He winds up with this:

> When I saw that article in the "Union" of the 17th of November, followed by the glorification of the Lecompton constitution on the 18th of November, and this clause in the constitution asserting the doctrine that a State has no right to prohibit slavery within its limits, I saw that there was a fatal blow being struck at the sovereignty of the States of this Union.

I ask him if all this fuss was made over the editor of this newspaper. It would be a terribly "fatal blow" in-



JOHN H. ADDAMS.
An old citizen of Cedarville.

deed which a single man could strike, when no President, no cabinet officer, no member of Congress, was giving strength and efficiency to the movement. Out of respect to Judge Douglas's good sense I must believe he didn't manufacture his idea of the "fatal" character of that blow out of such a miserable scapegrace as he represents that editor to be. But the judge's eye is farther south now. Then, it was very peculiarly and decidedly north. His hope rested on the idea of enlisting the great "Black Republican" party, and making it the tail of his new kite. He knows he was then expecting from day to day to turn Republican and place himself at the head of our organization. He has found that these despised "Black Republicans" estimate him by a standard which he has taught them only too well. Hence he is crawling back into his old camp, and you will find him eventually installed in full fellowship among those whom he was then battling, and with whom he now pretends to be at such fearful variance. (Loud applause, and cries of "Go on, go on.") I cannot, gentlemen, my time has expired.

THAT SECOND QUESTION

Mr. Lincoln Urged Not to Ask It Before and After His Arrival in Freeport.

Every book upon Lincoln published since the joint debate in Freeport, August 27, 1858, refers to the fact that Mr. Lincoln was urged not to ask the Second Question of Mr. Douglas. Tarbell's Life of Lincoln, Volume II, page 110, et seq., has the following.

It was in the second debate, at Freeport, that Lincoln made the boldest stroke of the contest. Soon after the Ottawa debate, in discussing his plan for the next encounter, with a number of his political friends—Washburne, Cook, Judd, and others—he told them he proposed to ask Douglas four questions, which he read. One and all cried halt at the second question. Under no condition, they said, must he put it. If it were put, Douglas would answer it in such a way as to win the senatorship. The morning of the debate, while on the way to Freeport, Lincoln read the same questions to Mr. Joseph Medill. "I do not like this second question, Mr. Lincoln," said Mr. Medill. The two men argued to their journey's end, but Lincoln was still unconvinced. Even after he reached Freeport several Republican leaders came to him pleading, "Do not ask that question." He was obdurate; and he went on the platform with a higher head, a haughtier step than his friends had noted in him before. Lincoln was going to ruin himself, the committee said despondently; one would think he did not want the senatorship.

The mooted question ran in Lincoln's notes: "Can the people of a United States territory in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?" Lincoln had seen the irreconcilableness of Douglas's own measure of popular sovereignty, which declared that the people of a territory should be left to regulate their domestic concerns in their own way subject only to the Constitution, and the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case that slaves, being property, could not under the Constitution be excluded from a territory. He knew that if Douglas said no to this question, his Illinois constituents would never return him to the Senate. He believed that if he said yes, the people of the South would never vote for him for President of the United States. He was willing himself to lose the senatorship in order to defeat Douglas for the presidency in 1860. "I am after larger game; the battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this," he said confidently.

The quention was put, and Douglas answered it with rare artfulness. "It matters not," he cried, "what way the Supreme Court may hereafter dec[illegible] as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the Constitution; the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery, they will elect representatives to that body who will, by unfriendly legislation, effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension."

His Democratic constituents went wild over the clever way in which Douglas has escaped Lincoln's trap. He now practically had his election. The Republicans shook their heads. Lincoln only was serene. He alone knew what he had done. The Freeport debate had no sooner reached the pro-slavery press than a storm of protest went up. Douglas had betrayed the South. He had repudiated the Supreme Court decision. He had declared that slavery could be kept out of the territories by other legislation than a State Constitution. "The Freeport doctrine," or "the theory of unfriendly legislation," as it became known, spread month by month, and slowly but surely made Douglas an impossible candidate in the South. The force of the question was not realized in full by Lincoln's friends until the Democratic party met in Charleston, S. C., in 1860, and the Southern delegates refused to support Douglas because of the answer he gave to Lincoln's question in the Freeport debate of 1858.

"Do you recollect the argument we had on the way up to Freeport two years ago over the question I was going to ask Judge Douglas?" Lincoln asked Mr. Joseph Medill, when the latter went to Springfield a few days after the election of 1860.

"Yes," said Medill, "I recollect it very well."

"Don't you think I was right now?"

"We were both right. The question hurt Douglas for the Presidency, but it lost you the senatorship."

"Yes, and I have won the place he was playing for."

Judge Moses on the Freeport Debate.

In his history of Illinois, Judge John Moses, volume 2, pages 618 to 619, has this to say on the Freeport debate:

"At Freeport, before an immense throng of listeners, Lincoln was the first speaker. He at once proceeded to answer seriatim the seven questions propounded to him at Ottawa, relating to his position on the fugitive-slave law, the admission of new States into the Union, the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the prohibition of the slave trade between the different States, the prohibition of slavery in the territories, and the acquisition of new slave territory. He then in turn propounded four interrogatories to the Judge. One of these was as follows: "Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?" which brought out the fatal answer, that the local legislature by unfriendly legislation might effectually prevent the introduction of slavery into any territory. His position being in conflict with the Dred Scott decision, which he had always upheld and defended, was heralded over the southern states as evidence that he had been two-faced on the subject, contending for the extension of slavery under the decision, and for its exclusion under his new doctrine.

"The policy of propounding the question which had brought forth the answer had been submitted by Mr. Lincoln to some confidential friends, who advised against it. They even besieged his room the day the discussion came off and insisted that the answer of his opponent would be such as to affect his fortune in the state, without regard to the south, and urged him not to risk the interrogatory, saying in chorus, "If you do you can never be Senator." But Lincoln, persisting in his determination to force an answer, replied, "Gentlemen, I am killing larger game; if Douglas answers, he can never be President, and the coming battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this."

FROM "THE CRISIS"

An Historical Novel, by Winston Churchill.

There was published in 1901 an historical novel by Winston Churchill, and we publish two chapters, four and five, from that remarkable book, descriptive of the Freeport debate between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas. The "Mr. Hill" in this novel, was the late Hon. Robert R. Hitt, long a member of Congress from this district, who reported for the Chicago Press and Tribune the joint debates.

Chapter IV. The Question.

Many times since Abraham Lincoln has been called to that mansion which God has reserved for the patriots who have served Him also, Stephen Brice has thought of that steaming night in the low-ceiled room of the country tavern, reeking with the smell of coarse food and hot humanity. He remembers vividly how at first his gorge rose, and recalls how gradually there crept over him a forgetfulness of the squalidity and discomfort. Then came a space, gray with puzzling wonder. Then the dawning of a worship for a very ugly man in a rumpled and ill-made coat.

You will perceive that there was hope for Stephen. On his shakedown that night, oblivious to the snores of his companions and the droning of the insects, he lay awake. And before his eyes was that strange, marked face, with its deep lines that blended both humor and sadness there. It was homely, and yet Stephen found himself reflecting that honesty was just as homely, and plain truth. And yet both were beautiful to those who had learned to love them. Just so this Mr. Lincoln.

He fell asleep wondering why Judge Whipple had sent him.

It was in accord with nature that reaction came with the morning. Such a morning, and such a place.

He was awakened, shivering, by the beat of rain on the roof, and stumbling over the prostrate forms of the four Beaver brothers, reached the window. Clouds filled the sky, and Joshway, whose pallet was under the sill, was in a blessed state of moisture.

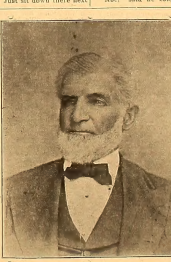
No wonder some of his enthusiasm has trickled away! He made his toilet in the wet under the pump outside, where he had to wait his turn. And he rather wished he were going back to St. Louis. He had an early breakfast of fried eggs and underdone bacon, and coffee which made him pine for Hester's. The dishes were neither too clean nor too plentiful, being doused in water as soon as ever they were out of use.

But after breakfast the sun came out, and a crowd collected around the tavern, although the air was chill and the muck deep in the street. Stephen caught glimpses of Mr. Lincoln towering above the knots of country politicians who surrounded him, and every once and awhile a knot would double up with laughter. There was no sign that the senatorial aspirant took the situation seriously; that the coming struggle with his skillful antagonist was weighing him down in the least. Stephen held aloof from the groups, thinking that Mr. Lincoln had forgotten him. He decided to leave for St. Louis on the morning train, and was even pushing toward the tavern entrance with his bag in his hand, when he was met by Mr. Hill.

"I had about given you up, Mr. Brice," he said. "Mr. Lincoln asked me to get hold of you, and bring you to him alive or dead."

Accordingly Stephen was led to the station, where a long train of twelve cars was pulled up, covered with flags and bunting. On entering one of these, he perceived Mr. Lincoln sprawled (he could think of no other word to fit the attitude) on a seat next the window, and next to him was Mr. Medill of the Press and Tribune. The seat just in front was reserved for Mr. Hill, who was to make any notes necessary. Mr. Lincoln looked up. His appearance was even less attractive than the night before, as he had on a dirty gray linen duster.

"I thought you'd got looze, Steve," he said, holding out his hand. "Glad to see you. Just sit down there next



DEXTER A. KNOWLTON, SR.
An old citizen of Freeport.

to Bob, where I can talk to you."

Stephen sat down, diffident, for he knew that there were others in that train who would give ten years of their lives for that seat.

"I've taken a shine to this Bostonian, Joe," said Mr. Lincoln to Mr. Medill. "We've got to catch 'em young to do anything with 'em, you know. Now, Steve, just give me a notion how politics are over in St. Louis. What do you think of our new Republican party? Too bran new for St. Louis, eh?"

Stephen saw expostulation in Mr. Medill's eyes, and hesitated. And Mr. Lincoln seemed to feel Medill's objections, as by mental telepathy. But he said:—"We'll come to that little matter later, Joe, when the cars start."

Naturally Stephen began uneasily. But under the influence of that kindly eye he thawed, and forgot himself. He felt that this man was not one to feign an interest. The shouts of the people on the little platform interrupted the account, and the engine staggered off with its load.

"I reckon St. Louis is a nest of Southern Democrats," Mr. Lincoln remarked, "and not much opposition."

"There are quite a few old-line Whigs, sir," ventured Stephen, smiling.

"Joe," said Mr. Lincoln, "did you ever hear Warfield's definition of an old-line Whig?"

Mr. Medill had not.

"A man who takes his toddy regularly, and votes the Democratic ticket occasionally, and who wears ruffled shirts."

Both of these gentlemen laughed, and two more in the seat behind, who had an ear to the conversation.

"But, sir," said Stephen, seeing that he was expected to go on, "I think that the Republican party will gather a considerable strength there in another year or two. We have the material for powerful leaders in Mr. Blair and others" (Mr. Lincoln nodded at the name). "We are getting an ever increasing population from New England, mostly of young men who will take kindly to the new party." And then he added, thinking of his pilgrimage the Sunday before: "South St. Louis is a solid mass of Germans, who are all anti-slavery. But they are very foreign still, and have all their German institutions."

"The Turner Halls?" Mr. Lincoln surprised him by inquiring.

"Yes. And I believe that they drill there."

"Then they will the more easily be turned into soldiers, if the time should come," said Mr. Lincoln. And he added quickly, "I pray that it may not."

Stephen had cause to remember that observation, and the acumen it showed, long afterward.

The train made several stops, and at each of them shoals of country people filled the aisles, and paused for a most familiar chat with the senatorial candidate. Many called him Abe. His appearance was the equal in roughness to theirs, his manner if anything was more democratic—yet in spite of all this Stephen in them detected a deference which might almost be termed a homage. There were many women among them. Had our friend been older, he might have known that the presence of good women in a political crowd portends something. As it was, he was surprised. He was destined to be still more surprised that day.

When they had left behind them the shouts of the little town of Dixon, Mr. Lincoln took off his hat, and produced a crumpled and not too immaculate scrap of paper from the multitude therein.

"Now, Joe," said he, "here are four questions I intend to ask Judge Douglas. I am ready for you. Fire away."

"We don't care anything about the others," answered Mr. Medill. "But I tell you this. If you ask that second one, you'll never see the United States Senate."

"And the Republican party in this State will have had a blow from which it can scarcely recover," added Mr. Judd, chairman of the committee.

Mr. Lincoln did not appear to hear them. His eyes were far away over the wet prairie.

Stephen held his breath. But neither he, nor Medill, nor Judd, nor Hill guessed at the pregnancy of that moment. How were they to know that the fate of the United States of America was concealed in that question—was to be decided on a rough wooden platform that day in the town of Freeport, Illinois?

But Abraham Lincoln, the uncouth man in the linen duster with the touseled hair, knew it. And the stone that was rejected of the builders was to become the corner-stone of the temple.

Suddenly Mr. Lincoln recalled himself, glanced at the paper, and cleared his throat. In measured tones, plainly heard above the rush and roar of the train, he read the question:—

"Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?"

Mr. Medill listened intently.

"Abe," said he solemnly, "Douglas will answer yes, or equivocate, and that is all the assurance these Northern Democrats want to put Steve Douglas in the Senate. They'll snow you under."

"All right," answered Mr. Lincoln quietly.

"'All right?'" asked Mr. Medill, reflecting the sheer astonishment of the others; "then why the devil are you wearing yourself out? And why are we spending our time and money on you?!"

Mr. Lincoln laid his hand on Medill's sleeve.

"Joe," said he, "a rat in the larder is easier to catch than a rat that has the run of the cellar. You know where to set your trap in the larder. I'll tell you why I'm in this campaign; to catch Douglas now, and keep him out of the White House in 1860. To save this country of ours, Joe. She's sick."

There was a silence, broken by two exclamations.

"... here, Abe," said Mr. Medill, as soon as ever he got his breath, "what have we got to show for it? Where do you come in?"

Mr. Lincoln smiled wearily.

"Nowhere, I reckon," he answered simply.

"Good Lord!" said Mr. Judd.

Mr. Medill gulped.

"You mean to say, as the candidate of the Republican party, you don't care whether you get to the Senate?"

"Not if I can send Steve Douglas there with his wings broken," was the calm reply.

"Suppose he does answer yes, that slavery can be excluded?" said Mr. Judd.

"Then," said Mr. Lincoln, "then Douglas loses the vote of the great slave-holders, the vote of the solid South, that he has been fostering ever since he has had the itch to be President. Without the solid South the Little Giant will never live in the White House. And unless I'm mightily mistaken, Steve Douglas has had his eye as far ahead as 1860 for some time."

Another silence followed these words. There was a stout man standing in the aisle, and he spat deftly out of the open window.

"You may wing Steve Douglas, Abe," said he, gloomily, "but the gun will kick you off the bluff."

"Don't worry about me, Ed," said Mr. Lincoln. "I'm not worth it."

In a wave of comprehension the significance of all this was revealed to Stephen Brice. The grim humor, the sagacious statesmanship, and (best of all) the superb self-sacrifice of it, struck him suddenly. I think that it was in that hour that he realized the full extent of the wisdom he was near, which was like unto Solomon's.

Shame surged in Stephen's face that he should have misjudged him. He had come to patronize. He had remained to worship. And in after years, when he thought of this new vital force which became part of him that day, it was in the terms of Emerson: "Pythagoras was misunderstood, and Socrates, and Jesus, and Luther, and Copernicus, and Galilio, and Newton, and every pure and wise spirit that ever took flesh. To be great is to be understood."

How many have conversed with Lincoln before and since, and knew him not!

If an outward and visible sign of Mr. Lincoln's greatness were needed —he had chosen to speak to them in homely parables. The story of Farmer Bell was plain as day. Jim Ricketts, who had life all his own way, was none other than Stephen A. Douglas, the easily successful. The ugly galoot, who dared to raise his eyes only to the pear, was Mr. Lincoln himself. And the pear was the senatorship, which the galoot had denied himself to save Susan from being Mr. Ricketts' bride.

Stephen could not understand likewise the vehemence of the Republican leaders who crowded around their candidate and tried to get him to retract that question. He listened quietly, he answered with a patient smile. Now and then he threw a story into the midst of this discussion which made them laugh in spite of themselves. The hopelessnss of the case was quite plain to Mr. Hill, who smiled, and whispered in Stephen's ear: "He has made up his mind. They will not budge him an inch, and they know it."

Finally Mr. Lincoln took the scrap of paper, which was even more dirty and fingermarked by this time, and handed it to Mr. Hill. The train was slowing down for Freeport. In the distance, bands could be heard playing, and along the track, line upon line of men and women were cheering and waving. It was ten o'clock, raw and cold for that time of the year, and the sun was trying to come out.

"Bob," said Mr. Lincoln, "be sure you get that right in your notes. And, Steve, you stick close to me, and you'll see the show. Why, boys," he added, smiling, "there's the great man's private car, cannon and all."

All that Stphen saw was a regular day car on a side track. A brass cannon was on the tender hitched behind it.

Chapter V. The Crisis.

Stephen A. Douglas, called the Little Giant on account of his intellect, was the type of man of which our race has had some notable examples, although they are not characteristic. Capable of sacrifice to their country, personal ambition is, nevertheless, the mainspring of their actions. They must either be before the public, or else unhappy. This trait gives them a large theatrical strain, and sometimes brands them as adventurers. Their ability saves them from being demagogues.

In the case of Douglas, he had deliberately renewed some years before the agitation on the spread of slavery, by setting forth a doctrine of extreme cleverness. This doctrine, like many others of its kind, seemed at first to be the balm it pretended, instead of an irritant, as it really was. It was calculated to deceive all except thinking men, and to silence all save a merciless logician. And this merciless logician, who was heaven-sent in time of need, was Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. Douglas was a juggler, a political prestidigitateur. He did things before the eyes of the Senate and the nation. His balm for the healing of the nation's wounds was a patent medicine so cleverly concocted that experts alone could show what was in it. So abstruse and twisted were some of Mr. Douglas' doctrines that a genius alone might put them into simple words, for the common people.

The great panacea for the slavery trouble put forth by Mr. Douglas at that time was briefly this: That the people of the new territories should decide for themselves, subject to the Constitution, whether they should have slavery or not, and also decide for themselves all other questions under the Constitution. Unhappily for Mr. Douglas, there was the famous Dred Scott decision, which had set the South wild with joy the year before, and had cast a gloom over the North. The Chief Justice of the United States had declared that under the Constitution slaves were property—and as such every American citizen owning slaves could carry them about with him wherever he went. Therefore the territorial legislatures could pass laws until they were dumb, and yet their settlers might bring with them all the slaves they pleased.

And yet we must love the Judge. He was a gentleman, a strong man, and a patriot. He was magnanimous, and to his immortal honor be it said that he, in the end, won the greatest of all struggles. He conquered himself. He put down the mightiest thing that was in him—his ambition for himself. And he set up, instead, his ambition for his country. He bore no ill will toward the man whose

BOULDER MARKING THE BLOCK WITHIN WHICH DEBATE TOOK PLACE.
The two bronze tablets shown in the cut bear the following inscriptions:

WITHIN THIS BLOCK WAS HELD THE SECOND
JOINT DEBATE IN THE SENATORIAL CONTEST
BETWEEN
ABRAHAM LINCOLN
AND
STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS,
AUGUST 27, 1858.

"I AM NOT FOR THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES." DOUGLAS.

"THIS GOVERNMENT CANNOT ENDURE PERMANENTLY HALF SLAVE AND HALF FREE." LINCOLN.

ERECTED BY THE FREEPORT WOMAN'S CLUB,
1902.

DEDICATED BY
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT,
JUNE 3, 1903.

fate was so strangely linked to his, and who finally came to that high seat of honor and of martyrdom which he coveted. We shall love the Judge, and speak of him with reverence, for that sublime act of kindness before the Capitol in 1861.

Abraham Lincoln might have prayed on that day of the Freeport debate: "Forgive him, Lord. He knows not what he does." Lincoln descried the danger afar, and threw his body into the breach.

That which passed before Stephen's eyes, and to which his ears listened at Freeport, was the great Republic pressing westward to the Pacific. He wondered whether some of his Eastern friends who pursed their lips when the West was mentioned would have sneered or prayed. A young English nobleman who was there that day did not sneer. He was filled instead with something like awe at the vigor of this nation which was sprung from the loins of his own. Crudeness he saw, vulgarity he heard, but force he felt, and marvelled.

America was in Freeport that day, the rush of her people and the surprise of her climate. The rain had ceased, and quickly was come out of the northwest a boisterous wind, chilled by the lakes and scented by the hemlocks of the Minnesota forests. The sun smiled and frowned. Clouds hurried in the sky, marking the human hubbub below. Cheering thousands pressed about the station as Mr. Lincoln's train arrived. They hemmed him in his triumphal passage under the great arching trees to the new Brewster house. The chief marshal and his aids, great men before, were suddenly immortal. The county delegations fell into their proper precedence like ministers at a state dinner. "We have faith in Abraham." "Yet another county for the rail splitter." "Abe the giant killer"—so the banners read. Here, much bedecked, was the Galena Lincoln Club, part of JoDaviess' shipment. Fifes skirled, and drums throbbed, and the stars and stripes snapped in the breeze. And here was a delegation headed by fifty sturdy ladies on horseback, at whom Stephen gaped like a countryman. Then came carryalls of all ages, wagons from this county and that county, giddily draped, drawn by horses from one to six, or by mules, their inscriptions addressing their senatorial candidate in all degrees of familiarity, but not contempt. What they seemed proudest of was that he had been a rail-splitter, for nearly all bore a fence rail.

But stay, what is this wagon with the high sappling flag-staff in the middle, and the leaves still on it?

"Westward the star of empire takes its way.
The girls link on to Lincoln; their mothers were for Clay."

Here was glory to blind you—two and thirty maids in red sashes and liberty caps with white stars. Each was a state of the Union, and every one of them was for Abraham, who called them his "Basket of Flowers." Behind them, most touching of all, sat a thirty-third shackled in chains. That was Kansas. Alas, the mien of Kansas was far from being as sorrowful as the part demanded—in spite of her instructions she would smile at the boys. But the appealing inscription she bore, "Set me free," was greeted with storms of laughter, the boldest of young men shouting that she was too beautiful to be free, and some of the old men, to their shame be it said, likewise shouted. No false embarrassment troubled Kansas. She was openly pleased. But the young men who had brought their sweethearts to town, and were standing hand in hand with them, for obvious reasons saw nothing. They scarcely dared to look at Kansas, and those that did were so loudly rebuked that they turned down the side streets.

During this part of the day these loving couples, whose devotion was so patent to the whole world, were by far the most absorbing to Stephen. He watched them having their fortunes told, the young women blushing and crying, "Say" and "Aint he wicked?" and the young men getting their ears boxed for certain remarks. He watched them standing open-mouthed at the booths and side-shows, with hands still locked, or again they were chewing cream candy in unison. Or, he glanced at them sidewise, seated in the open places with the world so far below them that even the insistent sound of the fifes and drums rose but faintly to their ears.

And perhaps—we shall not say positively — perhaps Mr. Brice's thoughts went something like this, "Oh that love were so simple a matter to all." But graven on his face was what is called the "Boston scorn." And no scorn has been known like unto it since the days of Athens.

So Stephen made the best of his way to the Brewster house, the elegance and newness of which the citizens of Freeport openly boasted. Mr. Lincoln had preceded him, and was even then listening to a few remarks of burning praise by an honorable gentleman. Mr. Lincoln himself made a few remarks, which seemed so simple and rang so true, and were so free from political rococo and decoration generally, that even the young men forgot their sweethearts to listen. Then Mr. Lincoln went into the hotel, and the sun slipped under a dark cloud.

The lobby was full, and rather dirty, since the supply of spittoons was so far behind the demand. Like the firmament, it was divided into little bodies which revolved about larger bodies. But there lacked not here supporters of the Little Giant, and discreet farmers of influence in their own counties who waited to hear the afternoon's debate before deciding. These and others did not hesitate to tell of the magnificence of the Little Giant's torchlight procession the previous evening. Every Dred Scottite had carried a torch, and many transparencies, so that the very glory of it had turned night into day. The Chief Lictor had distributed these torches with an unheard of liberality. But there lacked not detractors who swore that John Dibble and other Lincolnites had applied the torches for the mere pleasure of carrying them. Since dawn the delegations had been heralded from the house-tops, and wagered on while they were yet as worms far out on the prairie. All the morning these continued to come in, and form in line to march past their particular candidate. The second great event of the day was the event of the special over the Galena road, of sixteen cars and more than a thousand pairs of sovereign lungs. With military precision they repaired to the Brewster house, and ahead of them a banner was flung: "Winnebago County for the Tall Sucker." And the Tall Sucker was on the steps to receive them.

But Mr. Douglas, who had arrived the evening before to the booming of two and thirty guns, had his banners and his bunting too. The neighborhood of Freeport was a stronghold of Northern Democrats, ardent supporters of the Little Giant if once they could believe that he did not intend to betray them.

Stephen felt in his bones the coming of a struggle, and was thrilled. Once he smiled at the thought that he had become an active partisan—nay, a worshipper—of the uncouth Lincoln. Terrible suspicion for a Bostonian—had he been carried away? Was his hero, after all, a homespun demagogue? Had he been wise in deciding before he had caught a glimpse of the accomplished Douglas, whose name and fame filled the land? Stephen did not waver in his allegiance. But in his heart there lurked a fear of the sophisticated judge and senator and the man of the world whom he had not yet seen. In his note-book he had made a copy of the question, and young Mr. Hill discovered him pondering in a corner of the lobby at dinner-time. After dinner they went together to their candidate's room. They found the doors open and the place packed, and there was Mr. Lincoln's very tall hat towering above those of the other politicians pressed around him. Mr. Lincoln took three strides in Stephen's direction and seized him by the shoulder.

"Why, Steve," said he, "I thought you had got away again." Turning to a big burly man with a good-natured face, who was standing by, he added. "Jim, I want you to look out for this young man. Get him a seat on the stand where he can hear."

Stephen stuck close to Jim. He never knew what the gentleman's last name was, or whether he had any. It was but a few minutes' walk to the grove where the speaking was to be. And as they made their way thither Mr. Lincoln passed them in a Conestoga wagon drawn by six milk-white horses. Jim informed Stephen that the Little Giant had a six-horse coach. The grove was black with people. Hovering about the hem of the crowd were the sunburned young men in their Sunday best, still clinging fast to the hands of the young women. Bands blared "Columbia, Gem of the Ocean." Fakirs planted their stands in the way, selling pain-killers and ague cures, watermelons and lemonade. Jugglers juggled, and beggars begged. Jim said that there were sixteen thousand people in that grove, and he told the truth.

Stephen now trembled for his champion. He tried to think of himself as fifty years old, with the courage to address sixteen thousand people on such a day, and quailed. What a man of affairs it must take to do that! Sixteen thousand people, into each of whose breasts God had put different emotions and convictions! He had never even imagined such a crowd as this assembled merely to listen to a political debate. But then he remembered, as they dodged from in front of the horses, that it was not merely a political debate. The pulse of a nation was here, a great nation stricken with approaching fever. It was not now a case of excise, but of existence.

This son of toil who had driven his family thirty miles across the prairie, blanketed his horses and slept on the ground the night before, who was willing to stand all through the afternoon and listen with pathetic eagerness to this debate, must be moved by patriotism divine. In the breast of that farmer, in the breast of his tired wife who held her child by the hand, had been instilled from birth that sublime fervor which is a part of their life who inherit the Declaration of Independence. Instinctively these men who fought and won the West had scented the danger. With the spirit of their ancestors who had left their farms to die on the bridge at Concord, or follow Ethan Allen into Ticonderago, these had come to Freeport. What were three days of bodily discomfort! What even the loss of a part of a cherished crop, if the nation's existence were at stake and their votes might save it!

In the midst of that heaving human sea rose the bulwarks of the wooden stand. But how to reach it? Jim was evidently a personage. The rough farmers commonly squeezed a way for him. And when they did not, he made it with his big body. As they drew near their haven, a great surging as of a tidal wave swept them off their feet. There was a deafening shout, and the stand rocked on its foundations. Before Stephen could collect his wits, a fierce battle was raging about him. Abolitionist and Democrat, Free Soiler and Squatter Sov, defaced one another in a rush for the platform. The committeemen and reporters on top of it rose to its defense. Well for Stephen that his companion was along. Jim was recognized and hauled bodily into the fort, and Stephen after him. The populace were driven off, and when the excitement died down again, he found himself in the row behind the reporters. Young Mr. Hill paused while sharpening his pencil to wave him a friendly greeting.

Stephen, craning in his seat, caught sight of Mr. Lincoln slouched into one of his favorite attitudes, his chin resting in his hand.

But who is this, erect, compact, aggressive, searching with a confident eye the wilderness of upturned faces? A personage, truly, to be approached timidly, to be approached advisedly. Here indeed was a lion, by the very look of him, master of himself and of others. By reason of its regularity and masculine strength, a handsome face. A man of the world to the cut of the coat across the broad shoulders. Here was one to lift a youngster into the realm of emulation, like a character in a play, to arouse dreams of Washington and its senators and great men. For this was one to be consulted by the great alone. A figure of dignity and power, with magnetism to compel moods. Since, when he smiled, you warmed in spite of yourself, and when he frowned the world looked grave.

The inevitable comparison was come, and Stephen's hero was shrunk once more. He drew a deep breath, searched for the word, and gulped. There was but one word. How country Abraham Lincoln looked beside Stephen Arnold Douglas!

Had the Lord ever made before and set over against each other two such different men? Yes, for such are the ways of the Lord.

* * * * * *

The preliminary speaking was in progress, but Stephen neither heard nor saw until he felt the heavy hand of his companion on his knee. "There's something mighty strange, like fate, between them two," he was saying. "Recklect twenty-five years ago when they was first in the Legislatur' together. A man told me that they was both admitted to practice in the S'preme Court in '39, on the same day, sir. Then you know they was nip an' tuck after the same young lady. Abe got her. They've been in Congress together, the Little Giant in the Senate, and now, here they be in the greatest set of debates the people of this state ever heard. Young man, the hand of fate is in this here, mark my words—"

There was a hush, and the waves of that vast human sea were stilled. A man—lean, angular, with coat-tails flapping—unfolded like a grotesque figure at a side show. No confidence was there. Stooping forward, Abraham Lincoln began to speak, and Stephen Brice hung his head, and shuddered. Could this shrill falsetto be the same voice to which he listened only that morning? Could this awkward, yellow man with his hands behind his back be he whom he had worshipped? Ripples of derisive laughter rose here and there, on the stand and from the crowd. Thrice distilled was the agony of those moments!

But what was this feeling that gradually crept over him? Surprise? Cautiously he raised his eyes. The hands were coming around to the front. Suddenly one of them was thrown sharply back, with a determined gesture, the head was raised, and—his shame was forgotten. In its stead wonder was come. But soon he lost even that, for his mind was gone on a journey. And when again he came to himself, and looked upon Abraham Lincoln, this was a man transformed. The voice was no longer shrill. Nay, it was now a powerful instrument which played strangely on those who heard. Now it rose, and again it fell into tones so low as to start a stir which spread and spread, like a ripple in a pond, until it broke on the very edge of that vast audience.

"Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?"

It was out, at last, irrevocably writ in the recording-book of history, for better, for worse. Beyond the reach of politician, committee or caucus. But what man amongst them who heard and stirred might say that these minutes even now hastening into eternity held the crisis of a nation that is the hope of the world? Not you, Judge Douglas, who sit there smiling. Consternation is a stranger in your heart—but answer that question if you can. Yes, your nimble wit has helped you out of many a tight corner. You do not feel the noose—as yet. You do not guess that your reply will make or mar the fortunes of your country. It is not you who can look ahead two short years and see the ship of Democracy splitting on the rocks at Charleston and at Baltimore, when the power of your name might have steered her safely.

But see! What is this man about whom you despise? One by one he is taking the screws out of the engine which you have invented to run your ship. Look, he holds them in his hands without mixing them, and shows the false construction of its secret parts.

For Abraham Lincoln dealt with abstruse questions in language so limpid that many a farmer, dulled by toil, heard and understood and marvelled. The simplicity of the Bible dwells in those speeches, and they are now classics in our literature. And the wonder in Stephen's mind was that this man who could be a buffoon, whose speech was coarse, and whose person was unkempt, could prove himself a tower of morality and truth. That has troubled many another, before and since the debate at Freeport.

That short hour came all too quickly to an end. And as the Moderator gave the signal for Mr. Lincoln, it was Stephen's big companion who snapped the strain, and voiced the sentiment of those about him.

"By gosh," he cried, "he baffles Steve. I didn't think Abe had it in him."

The Honorable Stephen A. Douglas, however, seemed anything but baffled as he rose to reply. As he waited for the cheers which greeted him to die out, his attitude was easy and indifferent, as a public man's should be. The question seemed not to trouble him in the least. But for Stephen Brice the judge stood there stripped of the glamour that made him, even as Abraham Lincoln had stripped his doctrine of its paint and colors, and left it punily naked.

Standing up, the very person of the Little Giant was contradictory, as was the man himself. His height was insignificant. But he had the head and shoulders of a lion, and even the lion's roar. What a contrast the ring of his deep bass to the falsetto of Mr. Lincoln's opening words! If Stephen had expected the Judge to tremble, he was greatly disappointed. Mr. Douglas was far from dismay. As if to show the people how lightly he held his opponent's warnings, he made them gape by putting things down Mr. Lincoln's shirt-front and taking them out of his mouth. But it appeared to Stephen, listening with all his might, that the Judge was a trifle more on the defensive than his attitude might lead one to expect. Was he not among his own Northern Democrats at Freeport? And yet it seemed to give him a keen pleasure to call his hearers "Black Republicans." "Not Black," came from the crowd again and again, and once a man shouted, "Couldn't you modify it and call it brown?" "Not a whit!" cried the Judge, and dubbed them "Yankees," although himself a Vermonter by birth. He implied that most of these Black Republicans desired negro wives.

But quick—to the question. How was the Little Giant, artful in debate as he was, to get over that without offence to the great South? Very skillfully the Judge disposed of the first of the interrogations. And then, save for the gusts of wind rustling the trees, the grove might have been empty of its thousands, such was the silence that fell. But tighter and tighter they pressed against the stand, until it trembled.

Oh, Judge, the time of all artful men will come at length! How were you to foresee a certain day under the white dome of the Capitol? Had your sight been long, you would have paused before your answer. Had your sight been long, you would have seen this ugly Lincoln bareheaded before the nation, and you holding his hat. Judge Douglas, this act alone has redeemed your faults. It has given you a nobility of which we did not suspect you. At the end God gave you strength to be humble, and so you left the name of a patriot.

Judge, you thought there was a passage between Scylla and Charybdis which your craftiness might overcome. "It matters not," you cried when you answered the question, "it matters not which way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the Constitution. The people have the lawful means to introduce or to exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations."

Judge Douglas, uneasy will you lie tonight, for you have uttered the Freeport heresy.

* * * * * *

It only remains to be told how Stephen Brice, coming to the Brewster house after the debate, found Mr. Lincoln. On his knee, in transports of delight, was a small boy, and Mr. Lincoln was serenely playing on the child's jews-harp. Standing beside him was a proud father who had dragged his son across two counties in a farm wagon, and who was to return on the morrow to enter this event in the family Bible. In a corner of the room were several impatient gentlemen of influence who wished to talk about the question.

But when he saw Stephen, Mr. Lincoln looked up with a smile of welcome that is still, and will ever be, remembered and cherished.

"Tell Judge Whipple that I have attended to that little matter, Steve," he said.

"Why, Mr. Lincoln," he exclaimed, "you have had no time."

"I have taken time," Mr. Lincoln replied, "and I think I am well repaid. Steve," said he, "unless I'm mightily mistaken, you know a little more than you did yesterday."

"Yes, sir; I do," said Stephen.

"Come, Steve," said Mr. Lincoln, "be honest. Didn't you feel sorry for me last night?"

Stephen flushed scarlet.

"I never shall again, sir," he said.

The wonderful smile, so ready to come and go, flickered and went out. In its stead on the strange face was ineffable sadness—the sadness of the world's tragedies. Of Stephen stoned, of Christ crucified.

"Pray God that you may feel sorry for me again," he said.

Awed, the child on his lap was still. The politicians had left the room. Mr. Lincoln had kept Stephen's hand in his own.

"I have hopes of you, Stephen," he said. "Do not forget me."

Stephen Brice never has. Why was it that he walked to the station with a heavy heart? It was a sense of the man he had left, who had been and was to be. This Lincoln of the black loam, who built his neighbor's cabin, and hoed his neighbor's corn, who had been storekeeper and postmaster and flatboatman. Who had followed a rough judge dealing a rough justice around a rough circuit; who had rolled a local bully in the dirt; rescued women from insult; tended the bedside of many a sick coward who feared the judgment; told coarse stories on barrels by candle-light (but these are pure beside the vice of great cities); who addressed political mobs in the raw, swooping down from the stump and flinging embroilers east and west. This physician who was one day to tend the sickbed of the nation in her agony; whose large hand was to be on her feeble pulse, and whose knowledge almost divine was to perform the miracle of her healing. So it was that the Physician Himself performed His cures, and when His work was done, died a martyr.

Abraham Lincoln dies in His name.

MR. LINCOLN AT THE BREWSTER HOUSE

Discussion About Asking Question Two of Mr. Douglas.

From Freeport Journal, Jan. 2, 1902.

When Mr. Lincoln asked his question of Mr. Douglas in the joint debate at Freeport on August 27, 1858, Mr. Lincoln well knew what the Supreme Court of the United States had decided in the Dred Scott case. Reader, have you forgotten? Let us refresh your memory. We quote the language of Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, who delivered the opinion:

> "And if the Constitution recognizes the right of property of the master in the slave, and makes no distinction between that distinction of property and other property owned by a citizen, no tribunal, acting under the authority of the United States, whether it be legislative, executive or judicial, has a right to draw such a distinction, or deny to it the benefit of the provisions and guarantees which have been provided for the protection of private property against the encroachments of the Government.
>
> Now, we have already said, in an earlier part of this opinion, upon a different point, that the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution."

And Mr. Lincoln also well knew that Stephen A. Douglas, at New Orleans, in a public speech to the Southern Democrats, had said:

> I, in common with the Democracy of Illinois, accept the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dred Scott case, as an authoritative exposition of the Constitution. Whatever limitations of the Constitution, as expounded by the Courts, imposes on the authority of a Territorial Legislature, we cheerfully recognize and respect, in conformity with that decision. Slaves are recognized as property, and placed on equal footing with all other property. Hence the owner of slaves—the same as the owner of any other species of property—has a right to remove to a Territory and carry his slaves with him.

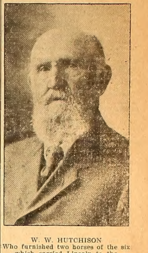
Well knowing these things Mr. Lincoln carefully and adroitly prepared the questions which he proposed to ask Mr. Douglas, and in the forenoon of that day in a room in the Brewster house in Freeport in the presence of many people (the writer being present), Mr. Lincoln read the questions in order to obtain the opinions of the prominent Republicans; the second question was as follows.

> Q. 2. Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits, prior to the formation of such a State Constitution?

All of the prominent Republicans present who engaged in the conversation objected to Mr. Lincoln's asking that question of Mr. Douglas, especially Mr. Joseph Medill, Mr. Elihu Washburne and Mr. Owen Lovejoy, because they argued that Mr. Douglas would, notwithstanding his unqualified endorsement of the Dred Scott case in his New Orleans speech, answer that the people of a Territory could exclude slavery by "unfriendly legislation," and that Mr. Douglas would please the people by his answer, and would beat Mr. Lincoln for Senator from Illinois. After listening to all that was said against his putting that question to Mr. Douglas, Mr. Lincoln replied, "I don't know how Mr. Douglas will answer; if he answers that the people of a Territory cannot exclude slavery, I will beat him; but if he answers as you say he will, and as I believe he will, he may beat me for Senator, but he will never be President of the United States." Mr. Douglas did answer as Mr. Medill and others said he would, and as Mr. Lincoln believed he would, crawfishing out of his speech at New Orleans, saying:

> "I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois that, in my opinion, a territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State constitution. Mr. Lincoln knew that I had answered that question over and over again. He heard me argue the Nebraska bill on that issue in 1854, in 1855, in 1856, and he has no excuse for pretending to be in doubt as to my position on that question. It matters not what the supreme court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations."

That cooked Senator Douglas' goose with the Democrats of the South and completely ruined any chance that Mr. Douglas may have had to become President. Had he stood manfully by his New Orleans speech fully endorsing the Dred Scott decision, he might have lost the Senatorship in Illinois, but he would have retained the esteem of the Southern people—but when he declared that the people of a Territory could lawfully do what the Supreme Court of the United States had said "No tribunal acting under the authority of the United States, whether it be Legislative, Executive, or Judicial, could do," he lost instantly the respect and support of the Southern people, and Mr. Lincoln's prediction that if he answered that way he could never become President of the United States was fulfilled. Mr. Lincoln, by persisting against the opinions of leading Republicans in asking Senator Douglas the question he had adroitly prepared, pushed Mr. Douglas into a corner, and no matter what reply Mr. Douglas might make, he must lose the Senatorship in Illinois, or give up all hope of ever becoming President. Mr. Lincoln had impaled him upon one or the other horns of a dilemma. Mr. Lincoln was hunting bigger game than Senator from Illinois, and he brought down the game he was after. His persistent determination to ask that question of Mr. Douglas defeated Douglas for President of the United States, split the Democratic party at its next national convention in Charleston and the homely Illinois "railsplitter" bagged that bigger game for himself. All of that is recorded history, and no slobbering over the lofty character of Stephen A. Douglas can wipe it out or change it. We know that Mr. Douglas was an able man, a wily politician, and was thoroughly loyal to the Government. We heard him make a speech in Springfield in April, 1861, expressing as loyal devotion to the Union as any man could, and we cheered him until we were hoarse. We shall always honor the memory of Stephen A. Douglas as a loyal citizen of the Republic, side by side with Abraham Lincoln, who, in joint debate, was more than a match for Mr. Douglas. There is no necessity to change a single fact of history in order to appropriately honor the memory of Stephen A. Douglas.



W. W. HUTCHISON
Who furnished two horses of the six which carried Lincoln to the place of debate.

MRS. G. A. STILES
Recalls incidents of fifty years ago.

BREWSTER HOUSE.
Where Lincoln Stopped in Freeport.

A REMINSCENCE OF LINCOLN BY MR. JOSEPH MEDILL

Lincoln's Cunning Question Put to Douglas at the Freeport Debate.

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The older men remember that a joint debate was held between Senator Douglas and Abraham Lincoln in the autumn of 1858. They met in joint debate seven times to discuss the various phases of the slavery question as it was then before the public, Mr. Douglas having the opening and closing four times and Lincoln three times. The first debate was at Ottawa Aug. 21, 1858. The second one was at Freeport Aug. 27. The intervening time between each discussion was filled up by the respective disputants in addressing separate meetings of their political friends. At the first debate Senator Douglas asked Mr. Lincoln seven questions as to his position on various phases of the slavery question, consisting of such questions as the following: "I want to know whether Mr. Lincoln stands pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union with such a Constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make, whether free or slave," "I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave trade between the different States." "I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the Territories of the United States, North as well as South of the repealed Missouri compromise lines," etc., to the end of the seven questions. Mr. Lincoln made no reply to these questions at Ottawa, but reserved what he might say to the time when he would meet Douglas at Freeport.

I traveled around with Mr. Lincoln after the Ottawa discussion to Freeport. He addressed three or four meetings during that time, one of them at Galesburg, where he had an immense audience; another at Macomb in McDonough county, where the crowd was comparatively small. As I recollect it we proceeded directly from Macomb to Freeport on the morning of Aug. 27. On the way north on the cars Mr. Lincoln beckoned to me to take a seat beside him —I was sitting a few seats behind him at the time—which I did. He took a half sheet of writing paper out of his pocket and handing it to me said: "I am going to answer Mr. Douglas' questions today in our discussion which he put to me at Ottawa and I intend to ask him a few questions in return, and I jotted them down this morning at the hotel before I left there. I wish you to read them over and tell me what you think of my questions?" I did so, reading one of them several times. After a considerable pause he said: "Well, how do those interrogatories strike you? I replied: "Mr. Lincoln, I do not like the second question." "What's the objection to it?" Mr. Lincoln asked. I replied: "It opens the door through which Senator Douglas will be enabled to escape from the tight place in which he finds himself on the slavery question in this State since he succeeded in getting the Missouri compromise repealed (which excluded slavery from the territories north of 36° 30', and that included, of course, Kansas and Nebraska)."

"In what way, do you think," said Mr. Lincoln, "it will benefit his position?" "Your question says: 'Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wishes of citizens of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State constitution?' "

"Now, in my opinion, Mr. Lincoln, Senator Douglas will answer that question in the affirmative without any hesitancy. He must so answer it, because if he should reply to that question in the negative he must see that it would defeat him disastrously in Illinois for re-election to the Senate, and he doesn't want that to happen, as it would destroy his prestige before the country. He will undoubtedly declare today when that question is put to him that a majority of the people of a Territory can prevent the introduction of slaves therein, or if they have come in, that majority can drive them out." "Against the will of the owners?" asked Mr. Lincoln, and I replied: "Yes, certainly." "Douglas has been preaching the doctrine of popular sovereignty in Territories for some time, and he dare not go back on it now."

"Well," said Lincoln, "I do not agree with you. Judge Douglas is more anxious to be elected President two years from now than he is to be re-elected to the Senate for the third time this fall.

"Can't you see that if he answers my question as you seem to think he will, he will exasperate every slaveholder in the South, because they all hold to the doctrine that the people of the South have an equal constitutional right to take every species of their property into the Territories as freely as the citizens of the North may carry all kinds of their property into any Territory? Every slaveholder believes that under the compromises of the constitution a Southern slaveholder can take his bondsmen into Kansas and keep and work them there during the period that Kansas has a Territorial government only, with just as much right to protection from the Federal law as a Massachusetts abolitionist would have if he went into the Territory with a span of horses to farm, or if some of our Illinois people should go over there with mules for the same purpose. Now, that being so, don't you see that if Douglas replies in the way you imagine he will he would lose every supporter he expects to get in the South, and under the Democratic rule of requiring a two-thirds majority to nominate, it would be impossible for him to be a successful candidate of the Democratic party in 1860?

"Now, on the other hand, if he should reply in the negative and declare that a majority of the people of the Territory cannot drive out any slaves that may be brought in, and thus deny the power of the squatters to protect themselves from slavery, he would stand a mighty slim chance of being elected to the Senate, and he would probably render it impossible if he were nominated to carry any Northern State? And if he answers as you believe he will it will cost him a good many votes down in Egypt, where the old settlers come mostly from the slave States and feel about the same as the people of the South."

That is the substance of what passed between us and the language as far as I can recall it.

We argued it at some further length, but I could make no impression whatever on Mr. Lincoln's mind. He said that he wouldn't change the form of the question, and that he intended "to spear it at Douglas that afternoon." In due time we arrived at Freeport and there was a great crowd of Lincoln's friends at the depot with a carriage to take him up to his hotel. The town was swarming with people, great numbers coming from all the adjoining counties. I found at the hotel the Republican member of Congress from that district, E. B. Washburne, with whom I was intimately acquainted, and Norman B. Judd, of Chicago, who was chairman of the Republican State Central Committee.

I took each of them to one side and related what passed between Lincoln and myself on the cars, and repeated the language of the second question which he intended to propound to Douglas, and both of them said that they feared the ill effects from it, and they would try and persuade Lincoln to leave it out or modify its language. They followed Mr. Lincoln upstairs into his apartments, where he was making his toilet for dinner, as the road had been dusty on the way up, and they spent a considerable time with him. When they came down stairs I saw both of them again, and they informed me that they had argued the impolicy of putting question two to Douglas as strongly as they could, but they were not able to change his purpose. Other leaders saw Mr. Lincoln before the debate began and urged him not to give Douglas such an opportunity to get out of the tight place it was believed he was in before the people of Illinois on the slavery question. But nothing was accomplished in that direction.

Mr. Lincoln opened the discussion in the afternoon, and first replied to Douglas' seven questions put to him at Ottawa, and then he said:

"I now proceed to propound to the Judge interrogatories so far as I have framed them. I will bring forward today an installment, only to number four, and reserve the other questions to our next debate."

And thereupon he read his four questions, including the No. 2, to which I have referred. He went on and finished his speech, and Mr. Douglas arose in reply and proceeded to answer the four questions. When he came to No. 2 he realized in his reply my worst fears. He said in substance.

"It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a Territory under the constitution; a majority of the people thereof have the lawful means to introduce or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations. These police regulations can only be established by the local Legislature and if the majority of the people of the Territory are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation, effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for slavery, their Legislature will favor its admission and extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a Slave Territory or free Territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill. I hope Mr. Lincoln deems my answer satisfactory on that point."

That was Senator Douglas' reply to Mr. Lincoln's sharp question, and it so pleased the thousands of Democrats present that they cheered and shouted and kept it up so long it was with great difficulty the chairman of the meeting, aided by Mr. Douglas himself, could induce them to stop applauding in order that he might proceed with his speech, while Republicans maintained an absolute silence.

The Democratic papers all over northern Illinois quoted and applauded Douglas' triumphant reply to Mr. Lincoln's interrogatory. The campaign was fought out to the conclusion. It was the most exciting and desperate political contest that had been known in the State up to that time. Enough of the close and doubtful counties voted for Douglas to secure for him control of the Legislature, which re-elected him to the Senate for the third time, and Lincoln was defeated.

Two years later the great parties met in conventions to nominate candidates to the Presidency, the Republicans placing Lincoln before the country. The Democratic party failed to agree on a candidate. Their convention met at Charleston, S. C., and the Southern delegates refused to support Douglas.

The ballotings ran for several days and were cast forty or fifty times. Mr. Douglas failed to obtain a two-thirds vote of the convention. The South took the ground that they would never support him or any man who held to the doctrine that the squatters of a Territory had the lawful power to exclude any property of a slave holder from such territory by police regulations or "unfriendly legislation." They regarded Mr. Douglas as heretical on that important point because if they could not get a foothold in a territory before it was organized into a State they had no hope or prospect of such territory being admitted as a slave State, and they rung the changes all over the South on his Freeport reply to Lincoln, that no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court might be the majority of the squatters in the territory, as Douglas held, could by police regulations and unfriendly territorial legislation drive out or exclude the slave property of the Southerners.

They regarded that position as little better than abolitionism, or than that of the Republican party, and they declared they would never support any man for President holding such views.

The convention failed to nominate. Another convention was held at which only Northern delegates appeared with few exceptions, and it placed Douglas in nomination. And another convention was held of the Southern wing of the Democratic party and it placed John C. Breckinridge in nomination, who proclaimed exactly the opposite doctrine of Douglas on the power of squatters to exclude slavery in the territories and the Democratic party was thus hopelessly rent in twain. The final result at the polls was the triumphant election of Lincoln to the Presidency, he carrying about all the Northern States and Breckinridge nearly all the Southern States, and Douglas practically no State.

Two or three days after the election of 1860, learning that the active workers of the Republican party in the State were calling on Mr. Lincoln in Springfield from all parts of Illinois to congratulate him on his triumphant election to the Presidency, I concluded to make the same pilgrimage and went down on the Alton cars with a number of other Chicagoans, reaching there in the morning. After breakfast I walked up to the old State house in the public square of that city, where Mr. Lincoln was holding his levee in the office of the Secretary of State. He bent his head down to my ear and said in low tones, something like this: "Do you recollect the argument we had on the way up to Freeport two years ago over my question that I was going to ask Judge Douglas about the power of squatters to exclude slavery from territories?" And I replied that I recollected it very well. "Now," said he, "don't you think I was right in putting that question to him?" I said: "Yes, Mr. Lincoln, you were, and we were both right. Douglas' reply to that question undoubtedly hurt him badly for the Presidency but it re-elected him to the Senate at that time as I feared it would."

Lincoln then gave me a broad smile and said: "Now I have won the place that he was playing for." We both laughed and the matter was never again referred to.

I have recalled this episode in Mr. Lincoln's career for the purpose of showing his remarkable keenness as a controversalist. Douglas himself was a debater of great power but he was really no match for Lincoln in making points and in incisiveness in debate. Lincoln was unquestionably the sharpest and strongest man in discussion with an antagonist who put him on nettles that the West has ever produced. This famous question looked very innocent in a casual reading and appeared to be a blunder in the eyes of some of the leaders in the party at that time; but it is the velvet paw which conceals the sharp claws beneath it. Mr. Douglas "gave himself away," to use a slang term, completely on that occasion, and fell into Lincoln's trap, rendering his election to the Presidency impossible. Whether he saw clearly the intended effect of Mr. Lincoln's interrogatory or not I have no means of knowing, as I never discussed the matter with Judge Douglas.

Perhaps he concluded that it presented a dilemma, and that the bluntest horn to take was the one he did —viz., to placate and conciliate his own people and secure his re-election to the Senate, trusting to the two years' time before the Presidential convention to render his position acceptable to the South.

But he failed to accomplish that purpose. The South grew more and more hostile and implacable toward him as they studied his Freeport reply to Lincoln, and finally came to believe that he was an unsafe man for them to support for the Presidency; and they took the desperate resolution to defeat him at all hazards and let the Republicans have the Presidency. At all events that was the outcome of the whole matter.

Chicago, May 19, 1895.

LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

Their Careers Ably Sketched

In a book recently published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., "Lincoln, Master of Men," by Alonzo Rothschild, one chapter runs a parallel between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas, as follows:

The early encounters and controversies of Lincoln were insignificant when compared to the rivalry that existed, for almost twenty-five years, between him and Stephen A. Douglas. First as enthusiastic adherents of opposing parties, they so conducted themselves that the orbits of their political ambitions crossed and recrossed each other. The star of Douglas was generally in the ascendant. He became, successively, State's attorney, member of the Illinois legislature, register of the land office at Springfield, secretary of state for Illinois, judge of the supreme court of that state, member of Congress, and United States senator. His rival's planet, on the other hand, showed, during the same period, the comparatively meagre glory of four terms in the state legislature and one in the lower house of Congress. Yet, the inferior light, swinging in season and out, across the pathway of the other, became steadily brighter in the reflected rays of the larger luminary, until suddenly they presented a singular phenomenon. The lesser became the greater; for while the one had grown, the other had diminished; and the rising orb, throwing off at last the borrowed beams, shone by its own intense power—so intense, indeed, that as its splendor spread, the waning star went out in total eclipse.

The political careers of these two men started at about the same time and place. When Lincoln entered upon his first term in the Illinois Assembly at Vandalia, he met in the lobby a slim, sturdy little Vermonter, four years his junior, who, notwithstanding extreme youth and briefness of residence in the West, was conducting among the members of the legislature what proved to be a successful canvass for the office of state's attorney for the first judicial district. The newcomer was Stephen A. Douglas. Identifying himself with the dominant party, he became as pronounced in his Democracy as Lincoln was in his Whigism. On opposite sides of the next Assembly—both of them were elected to the legislature of 1836—they clashed, from time to time, in tactics and debate. The antagonism thus started in Vandalia was transferred the following year to Springfield, where, within a few months of each other, the young men took up their residence. Here differences in character and temperament, rather than in party affiliations, acted as a bar to the friendship, or even to the esteem, that is not uncommon between contending politicians. If Douglas took one side of a question, Lincoln might be safely looked for on the other; and their rivalry soon became a recognized factor in the spirited local contests of the day.

The first of these encounters concerning which any details have been preserved took place during "the hard-cider campaign." At the very beginning of that memorable contest, one night in December, 1839, a group of disputacious young politicians sat around the stove in Joshua F. Speed's store. The argument, which is said to have been mainly between Lincoln and Douglas, was at its warmest when the latter sprang to his feet and said:

"Gentlemen, this is no place to talk politics. We will discuss the question publicly with you."

This informal challenge was followed within a few days by a resolution, which Lincoln offered in a meeting of the Whigs, inviting their opponents to a debate. The Democrats, accepting, appointed Stephen A. Douglas, John Calhoun, Josiah Lamborn, and Jesse B. Thomas to meet Stephen T. Logan, Edward D. Baker, Orville H. Browning, and Abraham Lincoln. These champions, for eight evenings, in the order named, defended and attacked by turns President Van Buren's independent treasury project, with an occasional tilt over the other economic questions on which their respective parties differed. "The great debate," as it was called, drew large audiences at the outset; but by the time of Lincoln's evening, the last in the series, the attendance had considerably diminished. This had a chilling effect upon the speaker, yet he warmed up sufficiently to make what was considered the best address of all—so good, in fact, that it was published as a campaign document, not only in friend Francis' newspaper, but also in pamphlet form. A glance through the speech reveals how keenly, at that time already, the "Sangamon Chief" was on the trail of his pet antagonist. The other Democratic speakers, it is true, were mentioned here and there, in refutation; but to Douglas fell the severest, and by far the largest share of Lincoln's attention. Here is a sample paragraph:

"I return to another of Mr. Douglas's excuses for the expenditures of 1838, at the same time announcing the pleasing intelligence that this is the last one. He says that ten millions of that year's expenditure was a contingent appropriation, to prosecute an anticipated war with Great Britain on the Maine boundary question. Few words will settle this. First, that the ten millions appropriated was not made till 1839, and consequently could not have been expended in 1838; second, although it was appropriated, it has never been expended at all. Those who heard Mr. Douglas recollect that he indulged himself in a contemptuous expression of pity for me. 'Now he's got me,' thought I. But when he went on to say that five millions of the expenditure of 1838 were payments of the French indemnities, which I knew to be untrue; that five millions had been for the postoffice, which I knew to be untrue; that ten millions had been for the Maine boundary war, which I not only knew to be untrue, but supremely ridiculous also; and when I saw that he was stupid enough to hope that I would permit such groundless and audacious assertions to go unexposed —I readily consented that, on the score both of veracity and sagacity, the audience should judge whether he or I were the more deserving of the world's contempt."

This utterance was significant. Like the leading motive in the overture to a music-drama, it struck, at the very beginning of the Lincoln-Douglas struggle, a note that was destined to run through many similar scenes, in which these two were to be the principal actors.

During the canvass that followed the debate, Lincoln and Douglas stumped the State in the interests of their respective candidates, with equal enthusiasm. Collisions between them were frequent, for the bearer of the Whig standard lost no opportunity of speaking from the same platform with the Democratic orator. In one of these debates, Lincoln charged VanBuren with having voted at the New York State Constitutional Convention of 1821, for negro suffrage with a property qualification. This Douglas denied. Whereupon Lincoln, to prove his assertion, read, from Holland's Life of VanBuren, the wizard of Kinderhook's own statement that he had so voted. Thus neatly cornered, Douglas got mad," as the story goes, and jumped up to dispose of both the charge and the evidence, in characteristic fashion. Snatching the volume from the reader's hands, he exclaimed, "Damn such a book!" and hurled it among the audience. In another of their encounters, Douglas had no occasion for so desperate a defense. On the contrary, he forced the fighting too ably for his antagonist. "Lincoln," says a friend of those days, "did not come up to the requirements of the occasion. He was conscious of his failure, and I never saw any man so much distressed. He begged to be permitted to try again, and was reluctantly indulged; and in the next effort he transcended our highest expectations. I never heard, and never expect to hear, such a triumphant vindication as he then gave of Whig measures or policy." But the victory of the canvass, so far as it concerned our two young campaigners, rested with Douglas. His opponent, it is true, was elected to the Assembly; yet the five electoral votes of Illinois, the real prize of the contest, remained in the Democratic column.

The next important conflict between the rivals was in a widely different field—as different, indeed, as hearts are from ballots. Yet love and politics—witness the Shields affair—were not so far apart as they might have been, in the Springfield of 1840. At that time, Miss Mary Todd, pretty, talented, and vivacious, had recently come from her Kentucky home to live with her sister, Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards. The hospitalities of the home were naturally extended by Mr. Edwards, one of the "Long Nine," to the leader of his delegation, so that Lincoln was a constant visitor. He paid his court to the fascinating little woman from his native state, and speedily became her accepted suitor. Lincoln's success, no less than the lady's charms, fanned the spirit of contention that already existed between him and Douglas. The little Vermonter, dashing and comely, followed his ungainly antagonist into the lists to dispute with him, as vigorously as in their political contests, the possession of this precious trophy. How the fight was conducted cannot—unfortunately for the romance of it—be told with the exactness of detail that usually makes such episodes entertaining. Says one of the old residents of Springfield:

"As a society man, Douglas was infinitely more accomplished, more attractive, and influential than Lincoln; and that he should supplant the latter in the affections of the proud and aristocratic Miss Todd is not to be marvelled at. He was unremitting in his attentions to the lady, promenaded the streets arm-in-arm with her—frequently passing Lincoln—and, in every way, made plain his intention to become the latter's rival."

This was merely—so some said—a flirtation on the part of Miss Todd to tease her lover. Others went so far as to say that Douglas made a proposal of marriage and was refused, "on account of his bad morals." According to still another account, she grew to prefer him, and would have accepted his offer if she had not given her promise to Lincoln. "The unfortunate attitude she felt bound to maintain between these two young men," relates the writer of this version, "ended in a spell of sickness. Douglas, still hopeful, was warm in the race; but the lady's physician, her brother-in-law, Dr. William Wallace, to whom she confided the real cause of her illness, saw Douglas, and induced him to end his pursuit, which he did with great reluctance." So much for the doubtful incidents of the contest; but what of the result? Douglas withdrew, and Lincoln, after an otherwise not untroubled courtship, led Miss Todd to the altar.

The private passage at arms between our politicians did not, of course, lessen their public antagonism. Yet, during the decade following the marriage, they had, it appears, no noteworthy encounters. This may have been due, in part, at least, to the fact that Lincoln, diligently practicing his profession, found less time than previously for politics. He did, it is true, participate in conventions and campaigns—even emerging into public life, in 1847, for one term in Congress; but there is no evidence that these activities brought him into personal conflict with his brilliant adversary. Moreover, the uninterrupted rise of Douglas, during this same period, from the Illinois Supreme Court bench to Congress, and thence to the United States Senate carried him somewhat out of Lincoln's range. As the latter took his seat in the lower house, the former entered upon his career in the upper. This one, at the expiration of his term, returned to Springfield and the small-fry litigation of the Eighth circuit, without having achieved distinction; the other became a figure of national importance.

Each success of the man whom he regarded as his particular rival added a pang to the ex-member's disappointment. The trophy of Miltiades would not let Themistocles sleep; and Lincoln, though he had become to look upon political affairs with comparative indifference, could not take his eyes off Douglas. So it happened that during the presidential canvass of 1852, when the Senator opened his stumping tour of the States, at Richmond, in a speech that was extensively republished, Lincoln obtained permission from the Scott Club of Springfield to deliver an answer, under its auspices. The effort was not creditable. Depressed by the hopelessness of the Whig cause in Illinois, and carried away by his jealousy of Douglas, he descended to a tone unworthy of himself or of the occasion. Referring to the Richmond address, he said:

"This speech has been published with high commendations in at least one of the Democratic papers in this State, and I suppose it has been and will be in most of the others. When I first saw it and read it, I was reminded of old times, when Judge Douglas was not so much greater man than all the rest of us, as he is now—of the Harrison campaign twelve years ago, when I used to hear and try to answer many of his speeches; and believing that the Richmond speech, though marked with the same species of 'shirks and quirks' as the old ones, was not marked with any greater ability—I was seized with a strange inclination to attempt an answer to it; and this inclination it was that prompted me to seek the privilege of addressing you on this occasion."

Like the speaker's one failure during that very Harrison campaign, this defeat—as his friends regarded it—in the Pierce-Scott contest was destined to be followed by brilliant victories. But not at once, for Douglas was still rising toward the zenith of his power, and Lincoln's hour had not yet struck.

The "Little Giant," as the admirers of the Senator from Illinois fondly called him, had been a candidate, at Baltimore, for the Democratic nomination for the presidency, which had fallen, by way of compromise, to Franklin Pierce. That gentleman owed his selection largely to the bitterness of the struggle between the "Old Fogies," under such favorites as Cass, Marcy, and Buchanan, on the one hand, and "Young America," championed by Douglas, on the other. The youthful leader, though he had not himself attained the prize, had been strong enough to keep his powerful competitors from getting it. Here was glory enough for a first attempt, and Douglas emerged from the convention still on the high road to the White House. That road had, for many years, wound through the southern states. It was dotted with the head-stones of presidential aspirants, who had fallen beneath the slaveholder's whip; but surely this adroit politician, stepping off so firmly, would not fall. He advanced steadily enough while the growing differences between North and South could be turned into the primrose paths of compromise. Not only had the measures that secured the so-called compromise of 1850 his support, but he had, at the same time, solemnly reaffirmed the great Missouri compromise itself. "It had its origin," said he, "in the hearts of all patriotic men, who desired to preserve and perpetuate the blessings of our glorious Union—an origin akin to that of the Constitution of the United States, conceived in the same spirit of fraternal affection, and calculated to remove forever the danger which seemed to threaten, at some distant day, to sever the social bond of union. All the evidences of public opinion, at that day, seemed to indicate that this compromise had been canonized in the hearts of the American people, as a sacred thing which no ruthless hand would ever be reckless enough to disturb." Yet, within somewhat over four years, the speaker himself, of all the men in the world, was guilty of that sacrilege. At the command of the South, his own hand violated the hallowed instrument. The compromise had served its turn—at least for the slave states. Having enjoyed the benefits allotted to them by the compact, they viewed with alarm the prospect that the free states were about to come into their share of it. The lash cracked above the head of Douglas. He promptly responded, in his Kansas-Nebraska bill, with the fateful amendment which declared the slavery restrictions of the compromise "inoperative and void."

The storm of indignation, aroused in the North by the passage of the bill, swept its author home in the autumn of 1854 to defend himself before his constituents. The people of Chicago, whom he first tried to address, gathered in an angry multitude and refused to hear him; but elsewhere throughout the state, in the so-called anti-Nebraska as well as in the Nebraska districts, his popularity secured to him large and respectful audiences. This tour was ostensibly in the interests of the party's state and congressional tickets. In reality, however, it involved a strenuous bid for the endorsement of Douglas himself. His colleague, General Shields, who had supported him in the Senate, was to stand for re-election before the next legislature. Hence the votes about to be cast, particularly those for members of that body, would afford the best immediate test as to whether or not he of the "ruthless hand" was sustained by the people.

With all his wonted skill and energy, Douglas threw himself into the struggle. Improving the opportunity offered by the large gathering of voters and politicians, at the State Agricultural fair, in Springfield, he presented himself at the Capitol, on the opening day, and made a speech. Like most of his utterances, it was specious but attractive. To answer it effectually would require ability of no mean order, and, as if by common consent of the several anti-Nebraska elements, the task was assigned to his old antagonist, Abraham Lincoln. This selection appears, in fact, to have been made before Douglas had spoken. "I will mention," said the Senator in his opening remarks to the audience which crowded the hall of the State House, "that it is understood by some gentlemen that Mr. Lincoln, of this city, is expected to answer me. If this is the understanding, I wish that Mr. Lincoln would step forward and let us arrange some plan upon which to carry out this discussion." Mr. Lincoln, as he happened to be absent at the moment, did not step forward then; but, on the following day, in the same place and before an equally large assemblage, he took a step forward that must have galled the great man's kibe. Aroused by the moral, no less than by the political obliquity of Douglas's course, Lincoln arose above the petty personalities which had disfigured his Scott Club address, and delivered a speech that evoked the praise of even the Senator's supporters.

Douglas himself, as his frequent interruptions of the speaker indicated, was greatly disconcerted by the unexpected sweep and strength of the reply. Moreover, in his excitement and anger, the two hours before supper time left to him for rejoinder were occupied to so little purpose that he closed with a promise to resume in the evening. Evening came, and so did the audience, but not the "Little Giant." Whether he had tumbled into one of the seven league boots that was putting a comfortable distance between him and the big giant, contemporary history saith not. It does not relate that when he failed to return, his disappointed auditors drew the inevitable conclusion—and so may we.

That the Senator should retrieve, unopposed, in other parts of the State, the ground he had lost in Springfield, was of course not on the program of the anti-Nebraska leaders. They urged Lincoln to follow Douglas until, as one of them expressed it, he "ran him into a hole and made him halloo, 'Enough!'" Their champion was eager enough for pursuit, but to the "Little Giant" the prospect of continuing the combat had "no relish of salvation in it." Douglas was cordial to his opponent when they met, a few days later, in Bloomington; but as soon as further debates were suggested, he became greatly irritated. "It looks to me," said he to Jesse W. Fell, who had made the proposition, "like dogging a man all over the State. If Mr. Lincoln wants to make a speech, he had better get a crowd of his own; for I most respectfully decline to hold a discussion with him." To persist in this refusal, among a people whose rude sense of chivalry still delighted in the test of man to man, would have cost Douglas much of his hard-earned prestige. So we find him, twelve days after the Springfield debate, again sharing the platform with Lincoln—this time in Peoria. Here, as at the capital, the Whig's ambition to address large audiences—we say nothing of his confidence in his powers—led him to be content with one speech, while the Democrat had two, the opening and the close. Concerning this arrangement, Lincoln quietly said in his introduction:

"I doubt not but you have been a little surprised to learn that I have consented to give one of his high reputation and known ability this advantage of me. Indeed, my consenting to it, though reluctant, was not wholly unselfish, for I suspected, if it were understood that the Judge was entirely done, you Democrats would leave and not hear me; but by giving him the close, I felt confident you would stay for the fun of hearing him skin me."

But it proved, as they say in the East, to be "the other way round." Douglas got the flaying, and no one realized this more keenly than he himself. Going to his antagonist, after the meeting—so one story runs—he said.

"Lincoln, you understand this question of prohibiting slavery in the territories better than all the questions in the Senate of the United States. I cannot make anything by debating it with you. You, Lincoln, have here and at Springfield given me more trouble than all the opposition in the Senate combined."

Then, throwing himself upon the other's magnanimity, he begged him to discontinue the pursuit. According to another tale, Douglas made a feigned illness the ground for his request. At all events, the Senator's discomfiture, whether mental or physical, disarmed Lincoln. He granted the truce proposed by Douglas—both to abandon the field and to return to their respective homes. Accordingly, when, on the following day, they arrived at Lacon, where the next debate was to take place, Douglas excused himself from speaking, on the ground of hoarseness, and Lincoln declined to take advantage of his "indisposition." Thereupon, they separated, Lincoln going directly home, as had been agreed. But Douglas stopped at Princeton, where a chance meeting with Owen Lovejoy betrayed him into a violation of the compact. This breach of faith should be borne in mind by him who would comprehend the characters of these adversaries; yet the little great man in retreat and crying, "Hold, enough!" while the big one stays his hand, is a still more significant spectacle.

The election that ensued was virtually a defeat for Douglas. He beheld the majority by which he had twice been sent to the United States Senate crumble away; and when, during the following winter, the new legislature met in joint session to elect General Shields's successor, the choice lay in the hands of the anti-Nebraska members. Their favorite, consistently enough, was Lincoln. The champion who had so neatly unhorsed the Nebraska man, himself, on the local field, should have been granted his desire—so thought most of them—to continue the fight, in the national arena. Five of their number, however, as pronounced in their Democracy as in their opposition to Douglas, could not bring themselves to vote for a Whig. They supported Lyman Trumbull, while the Douglas Democrats voted for Shields and then for Governor Joel A. Matteson. After a number of ballots with varying and undecisive results, when Matteson's election became imminent, Lincoln directed his followers to unite upon Trumbull, who thus won the day. The new Senator, though in times gone by a political [illegible] Whig leader, now agreed with him in uncompromising antagonism toward Douglas and his Kansas-Nebraska legislation. That was enough for Lincoln. If he himself might not follow Douglas into the Senate, the keen edge of his disappointment was tempered by the consolation of sending, in his stead, a David who was even less welcome than he to the diminutive Goliath. Indeed, no sooner had the brilliant Trumbull taken his seat than he opened the attack that gave Douglas so much trouble; and throughout the stormy sessions which followed, the Senator from Illinois was sure to find his colleague in the van of his enemies—a constant reminder of that other inveterate opponent at home.

Busy as Lincoln was at the bar the next few years, no move of the Democratic leader escaped his attention. When Douglas, still bidding for the presidential nomination that had twice slipped through his fingers, cast a defence of the Dred Scott decision into the southern scale beside the repeal of the compromise, the speech did not long remain unanswered by his vigilant critic. Both addresses were made in Springfield during June, 1857. At the time, the Senator's term had almost two years still to run, yet Lincoln's fancy appears to have carried him for a moment away from the important issues under discussion to the day when Douglas could again be brought to book. Said he:

"Three years and a half ago, Judge Douglas brought forward his famous Nebraska bill. The country was at once in a blaze. He scorned all opposition, and carried it through Congress. Since then he has seen himself superseded in a presidential nomination by one indorsing the general doctrine of his measure, but at the same time standing clear of the odium of its untimely agitation and its gross breach of national faith; and he has seen that successful rival constitutionally elected, not by the strength of friends, but by the division of adversaries, being in a popular minority of nearly four hundred thousand votes. He has seen his chief aids in his own State, Shields and Richardson, politically speaking, successively tried, convicted, and executed for an offence not their own, but his. And now he sees his own case standing next on the docket for trial."

The speaker might have added that when the trial took place, he hoped to conduct the prosecution.

Douglas gauged the full measure of his peril. He needed no Lincoln to point out that the Democracy of Illinois would not follow even his lead into the slaveholders' camp. And, if he should fail to carry his own State, what support could he expect from his party throughout the nation? At the same time, that party, or rather the dominating faction thereof, was committing itself more unreservedly, at every step, to the slavery cause. In this dilemma, Douglas seized the horn that presented itself first. He determined to preserve, above all things, his leadership at home, and, thus strengthened, to maintain it thereafter, as best he might, abroad. To accomplish the one purpose, without entirely losing sight of the other, he devised a straddle—"the great principle," as he called it, "of popular sovereignty." According to this doctrine, the people of a State or a Territory were free to have slavery or not as they might choose. Of course such a choice, so far as it would operate to exclude slavery from the Territories, was virtually barred by the Dred Scott decision, of which Douglas had warmly approved; but the inconsistency of his attitude gave him no concern, as long as it left him, like Hosea Biglow's "satty's factory" candidate, "frontin' South by North." That is to say, fairly on the track to the Senate, in 1858, and not turned too far away from the road that might lead to the White House, in 1860. When, in the winter of 1857-58, however, President Buchanan and other Democratic leaders sought to obtain the admission of Kansas into the Union, with a pro-slavery constitution that had not been properly submitted to the people of the Territory, Douglas found himself at the parting of the ways. Support of the scheme involved the surrender of "popular sovereignty," and his political ruin in Illinois, as well as in other Northern States; opposition to it threatened similar disaster for his hopes in the South. With prompt decision, he took his stand against the President. Whereupon ensued the bitter struggle over Kansas that for a brief hour revealed Douglas at his best. To tell how brilliantly he fought in the Senate for "the great principle," how manfully he bore himself under the heavy hand of the administration, how courageously he braved the abuse of old friends, and with what dignity he received the praise of lifelong enemies, would take us off the line of our narrative. Yet all this came near to having an important bearing on the fortunes of that particular enemy with which we are most concerned.

Lincoln, as election time drew near, saw with chagrin not only that Douglas had recovered his popularity among northern Democrats, but that some of the most influential of the Republicans, also, began to regard him with favor. Such leaders of the new party as Greeley, Bowles, Wilson, Colfax, Banks, Burlingame, and Blair, dazzled by the hope of gaining so powerful an ally, counseled the Illinois Republicans to unite with the Douglas Democrats in returning him to the Senate. This alliance would have committed the anti-slavery cause, in an important State, to the keeping of a politician who, to use his own phrase, cared not whether slavery was "voted down or voted up," and whose entire career, notwithstanding his course in the Kansas affair, should have rendered him an object of distrust to the Republican party. Its aid of Douglas, moreover, at the time, would have involved the gross betrayal of its own local leader; for Lincoln's sacrifices —to say nothing of his ability and his services—entitled his candidacy to the undivided support of his party. That this support should, even for a moment, be disputed with him by one against whom he and most of his followers had, all their lives, been arrayed, is its own commentary on the adroitness of Douglas. So real seemed the danger that Lincoln became greatly troubled. He was particularly disturbed over the course pursued by the editor of the New York Tribune. "I think Greeley," said he to his partner, Mr. Herndon, "is not doing me right. His conduct, I believe, savors a little of injustice. I am a true Republican and have been tried already in the hottest part of the anti-slavery fight, and yet I find him taking up Douglas, a veritable dodger—once a tool of the South, now its enemy—and pushing him to the front. He forgets that

[illegible] that he pulls me down at the same time. I fear Greeley's attitude will damage me with Sumner, Seward, Wilson, Phillips, and other friends in the East." Thereupon the faithful Herndon hastily journeyed toward the seaboard to reclaim the wise men of the East from following a misleading star. His mission was not entirely successful, for he found some of them wandering in a haze of expediency which all his earnest pleas in behalf of principle failed to dispel. Meanwhile, however, the atmosphere was clearing at home. Illinois Republicans could not bring themselves to "place any reliance," as Seward expressed it, "on a man so slippery as Douglas," and when their State convention met at Springfield, on the 16th of June, 1858, they formally declared for the man on whom they could rely. Amidst great enthusiasm, and without a dissenting voice, was passed the resolution:

"That Hon. Abraham Lincoln is our first and only choice for United States Senator to fill the vacancy about to be created by the expiration of Mr. Douglas's term of office."

As Douglas had, with equal unanimity, been endorsed, though not actually nominated, eight weeks before, by the Democratic convention, the two men now, for the first time in the course of their long rivalry, faced each other to do battle for the same high office.

With characteristic eagerness, Lincoln lost no time in beginning the contest. The evening of the day on which his nomination had been made, he addressed the convention in the speech which has since become famous because of its radical development of the text, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." But what at this moment interests us more than the issues under discussion is the fact that the speaker devoted most of his attention to his opponent, in person. Douglas subservient to the slave-owners, or Douglas in revolt against them, was pictured alike unworthy of northern confidence. Moreover, his recently acquired popularity among the Republicans, though it had signally failed to influence the convention, appears still to have worried Lincoln. "There are those," said he, after speaking of the party's ambition to overthrow the southern regime, "who denounce us openly to their own friends, and yet whisper us softly that Senator Douglas is the aptest instrument there is with which to effect that object. They wish us to infer all from the fact that he now has a little quarrel with the present head of the dynasty, and that he has regularly voted with us on a single point upon which he and we have never differed. They remind us that he is a great man, and that the largest of us are very small ones. Let this be granted. But 'a living dog is better than a dead lion.' Judge Douglas, if not a dead lion for this work, is at least a caged and toothless one."

A lion, indeed, but not of the sort described by Lincoln, did the people, three weeks later, make of the Democratic leader. Returning home to Chicago, with the glory of his gallant fight against the administration still fresh about him, he opened his canvass there on the evening of July 9, at a magnificent public reception. The speech made by the Senator on that occasion, from a balcony of the Tremont house, was a vigorous reply to Lincoln, of whom, in the flush of his pride, he spoke patronizingly as "a kind, amiable, and intelligent gentleman." The speaker might have added "alert" to this catalogue of good qualities, for Lincoln was present at the meeting, and when Douglas had concluded, he announced, in answer to calls for a speech, that he would reply from the same place, on the following evening. At the time appointed the audience for the most part returned, but Douglas, not deigning to do so, went to a theatre instead. When he spoke in Bloomington, on the 16th of July, Lincoln was again a watchful auditor, and the Senator's speech at Springfield, the next day, was followed, within a few hours, by his opponent's rejoinder to the Bloomington address. This continued, meeting after meeting. Yet, however closely Lincoln pressed Douglas, it soon became evident that the "Little Giant," with his plausible oratory and cleverly managed campaign machinery, had made the better start. Then Lincoln, recalling his old tactics at close quarters, challenged Douglas to a series of debates. In response, the latter, having accepted the proposition, stipulated that there were to be seven meetings, at places and on dates specified by him. The terms, as further laid down by Douglas, gave him the advantage of opening and closing the series, of speaking eleven times to his antagonist's ten, and of having four openings and closes to Lincoln's three. That "amiable gentleman," however, was not entirely a stranger, as we have seen, to the idea of giving the great man odds, so he promptly accepted the conditions.

What manner of man Stephen A. Douglas had become since those primitive Vandalia days, when he started with Lincoln in the race for political fame and fortune, is worthy of notice at this, a critical point in their course. The slight, boyish figure which, in 1834, had struck the big-boned member from Sangamon as that of "the least man" in his experience, though no taller by 1848, had materially developed otherwise. A sturdy, thick-set frame, with broad shoulders and deep chest, gave evidence of physical vigor as clearly as the massive head, high forehead, flashing blue eyes, and firm, expressive mouth indicated intellectual strength. Whatever the shrewd, bold mind might plan, the body, with its extraordinary energy and powers of endurance, could evidently be relied on to carry out. Thus doubly fortified by nature, Douglas was an opponent to compel respect. Moreover, the remarkable public career which had borne him, while still young, from unfriendly obscurity to the leadership of a great party, may be said to have schooled him in all the arts and accomplishments that make such a man formidable. With an exhaustive knowledge of our political history, and a grasp no less comprehensive of the problems that arise in party management, were combined an insight, well-nigh precise, into the shifting currents of popular favor. This store of wisdom was paralleled by the skill with which it was applied. No obstacle was long suffered to obstruct Douglas's progress. Questions of principle, of measures, and of men were all weighed alike in the balance of an ambition as inordinate as it was selfish. Yet, so artfully did he manage, that people, mistaking the self-seeking politician for the patriotic statesman, crowned him with successive honors.

A member of the Illinois legislature at the age of 23, State Supreme Court judge at 28, Congressman at 30, United States Senator at 34, and a powerfully supported candidate for presidential nomination at the youthful age of 39, Douglas was generally acknowledged, even some years before the period at which we have arrived, to be the ablest, as well as the most cherished, of the Democratic leaders. Indeed, a considerable element in the party looked for guidance to him, and to him alone. Through fair weather and foul it had clung to the man with a devotion that has not been surpassed in the history of the organization. For Douglas knew, as possibly but one other American ever did, how to captivate at once the heads and the hearts of the young men. They admired his sagacity, dash, fearlessness, and indomitable will; they loved him for the ardent, sunny temperament that manifested itself with equal readiness in a warm greeting or a personal service, in the reckless expenditure of his means, or in the good-fellowship of a convivial circle; but above all they exulted, as did many of their elders, over the power of his eloquence. Douglas was an orator by nature. He owed little or nothing of his triumphs in the Senate and on the stump to scholarship. Discarding humor, flights of fancy, and rhetorical ornament generally, he carried his hearers whithersoever he would on the flood of his earnest logic. A flexible voice, suited to his terse, vigorous English, and a manner which seemed to stamp every word as the utterance of an oracle, imparted to what he said all the force of which the statement was capable. Even the most audacious sophisms or perversions of fact—for Douglas never hesitated at either—owed a certain plausibility to this impressive delivery. It was in running discussion, however, rather than in the making of a formal speech—in spontaneous declamation, passionate invective, and impromptu reply, that he particularly excelled. Quick to seize upon the weakness in an opponent's argument, adroit at making the most of the strength in his own, expert in all the wiles and stratagems of controversy, unscrupulous about employing them to confound an adversary or mislead his hearers, he was conceded to be the best off-hand debater in the Senate during one of its brilliant epochs. The upper house at the time held not a few orators who wrote their drafts on the bank of eloquence for larger amounts than Douglas could; but the flushest of them lacked so much ready change as he had always about him. His encounters with Sumner, Seward, Chase, Everett, Crittenden, Trumbull, Fessenden, Hale, Wilson, as well as other parliamentarians of their class, whether he met them singly or sustained an assault in force, had gained for him an almost unbroken record of forensic victories. These achievements had fixed the attention of the nation upon him as upon no other politician of the day. Small wonder that a man of his caliber grew arrogant. Recognizing no will but his own, he came to look upon opposition of any kind with ill-controlled passion. If to all this, finally, is added that twelve years in the Senate had led him to regard his seat as peculiarly his own, we may form some conception of what Lincoln undertook when, in the summer of 1858, he challenged Douglas to debate for the place.

No one realized to what heights Douglas had climbed more clearly than he who had pursued him so persistently. Lincoln's admission, not long before, of how wide a gap lay between them, makes a pathetic contrast to his disparagements of former he, "Judge Douglas and I first became acquainted. We were both young then—he a trifle younger than I. Even then we were both ambitious—I, perhaps quite as much as he. With me, the race of ambition has been a failure—a flat failure; with him, it has been one of splendid success. His name fills the nation, and is not unknown even in foreign lands. I affect no contempt for the high eminence he has reached. So reached that the oppressed of my species might have shared with me in the elevation, I would rather stand on that eminence than wear the richest crown that ever pressed a monarch's brow." In an entirely different vein, though not less forcibly, Lincoln pointed out, at the beginning of the canvass, some of Douglas's further advantages over him. Said he:

"Senator Douglas is of world-wide renown. All the anxious politicians of his party, or who have been of his party for years past, have been looking upon him as certainly, at no distant day, to be the President of the United States. They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face, post-offices, land-offices, marshalships, and cabinet appointments, chargeships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in wonderful exuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. And as they have been gazing upon this attractive picture so long, they cannot, in the little distraction that has taken place in the party, bring themselves to give up the charming hope; but with greedier anxiety they rush about him, sustain him, and give him marches, triumphal entries, and receptions beyond what even in the days of his highest prosperity they could have brought about in his favor. On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be President. In my poor, lean, lank face, nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out. These are disadvantages all, taken together, that the Republicans labor under. We have to fight this battle upon principle, and upon principle alone."

Whether much principle, by the way, could be introduced into a conflict with Douglas, the speaker, after twenty odd years of campaigning against him, was still in grave doubt. Having sounded the depths and shallows of his character, Lincoln had learned that when Douglas swore upon his honor—his political honor, at least—he was, as Master Touchstone might have said, not forsworn. Lincoln also knew how subtly this moral laxness wound, like a black thread, through the man's comings and goings; and how in the stress of debate, sophistry, trickery, even falsehood were employed to establish his own position, or hopelessly to befog that of his opponent. It was in reference to this line of conduct that Lincoln once said:

"Judge Douglas is playing cuttlefish, a small species of fish that has no mode of defending itself, when pursued, except by throwing out a black fluid, which makes the water so dark the enemy cannot see it, and thus it escapes."

Speaking, on another occasion, of the Judge's more dangerous qualities, he said:

"It is impossible to get the advantage of him. Even if he is worsted, he so bears himself that the people are bewildered and uncertain as to who has the better of it." The impossible, then, is what Lincoln was about to undertake.

As for Douglas, his ostentatious air of confidence in himself and his patronizing bearing toward Lincoln, on the stump, hardly manifested his real attitude. Upon receiving, at the Capital, a despatch, announcing that his old opponent had been chosen to run against him for the Senate, he had said to the group of Republican representatives gathered about him to hear it read:

"Well, gentlemen, you have nominated a very able and a very honest man."

A more emphatic, if not so dignified form of the comment was that in which it had been expressed, privately, on several occasions:

"Of all the damned Whig rascals about Springfield, Abe Lincoln is the ablest and the most honest."

Discussing the nominee with John W. Forney, Douglas had observed:

"I shall have my hands full. He is the strong man of his party—full of wit, facts, dates, and the best stump speaker, with his droll ways and dry jokes, in the West. He is as honest as he is shrewd; and if I beat him, my victory will be hardly won."

In view of these opinions and of the previous encounters upon which they were based, it is not surprising that Douglas was loath now, even more than four years before, to meet Lincoln in debate. When the challenge was received, the Democratic leader said to certain of his political friends:

"I do not feel, between you and me, that I want to go into this debate. The whole country knows me and has me measured. Lincoln, as regards myself, is comparatively unknown, and if he gets the best of this debate—and I want to say he is the ablest man the Republicans have got—I shall lose everything. Should I win, I shall gain but little. I do not want to go into a debate with Abe."

Moreover, after agreeing to the proposed meetings—for there was no escape from them in 1858, any more than there had been in 1854—he declared to some of his supporters who spoke slightingly of his antagonist:

"Gentlemen, you do not know Mr. Lincoln. I have known him long and well, and I know that I shall have anything but an easy task. I assure you I would rather meet any other man in the country, in this joint debate, than Abraham Lincoln."

Whatever disquietude Douglas manifested, in these few instances, was not shared by his followers. Looking forward to the contest with assurance of success, they set no bounds, as was their wont, to partisan enthusiasm. Amidst their noisy demonstrations were heard boasts that Douglas would "use up and utterly demolish" Lincoln, that the country would shortly be treated to the spectacle of "the Little Giant chawing up Old Abe," and the like. These things naturally cast a damper over Lincoln's friends. Somewhat disheartened, at the outset, by the prestige of Douglas's brilliant career, as well as by his unquestioned ability, they came to regard the approaching trial of strength with forebodings that were poorly concealed from their champion himself. He was, in fact, keenly alive to this lack of confidence. It showed itself in the comments of the Republican press, no less than in the talk of his supporters. One of them, Judge H. W. Beckwith, of Danville, happened to greet him, on the street in Springfield, shortly after the first meeting. Inquiry as to the state of things in Vermilion county evoked the statement by the Judge that the leader's friends there awaited the coming debate with deep concern. This appeared to move Lincoln. The pained expression that passed over his face, however, quickly gave place to one of resolution. Then, in his half-serious, half-jocular way, he said, as he seated himself upon the steps of the Chenery House, before which they stood.

"Sit down. I have a moment to spare and will tell you a story. You have seen two men about to fight?"

"Yes, many times."

"Well, one of them brags about what he means to do. He jumps high in the air, cracking his heels together, smites his fists, and wastes his breath trying to scare somebody. You see the other fellow, he says not a word"—here the speaker became very earnest and repeated, "you see the other man says not a word. His arms are at his side, his fists are closely doubled up, his head is drawn to the shoulder, and his teeth are set firm together. He is saving his wind for the fight, and as sure as it comes off he will win it, or die a-trying."

There spoke the victor of Clary's Grove. He had learned that the principles of mastery do not vary, whether they are applied to a backwoods scuffle or a great political controversy.

The Lincoln-Douglas debates, as they are called, were the most remarkable exhibitions of their kind in the history of the country. Never before nor since have two of its citizens engaged in a series of public discussions which involved questions of equal importance. Personal and purely local differences were overshadowed, from the very beginning, by what the disputants had to say on issues so momentous that they were destined, within a few years, to plunge the country into civil war. Lincoln, accordingly, did not greatly exaggerate when he spoke, at Quincy, of the seven meetings as "the successive acts of a drama to be enacted not merely in the face of audiences like this, but in the face of the nation and, to some extent, in the face of the world." To reconstruct these stirring scenes, in pen pictures, almost half a century after the curtain was rung down, is as much beyond our power as to do justice by the actors, in any summary of their speeches. Only a careful reading of the 263 pages in which the debates have been preserved will convey an adequate idea of how brilliantly, from the intellectual point of view, both conducted themselves. Now Douglas appears to prevail, now Lincoln. One page persuades us that slavery is constitutional, and that each commonwealth should be allowed to have "the institution," or not, as it elects. We turn the leaf, and lo! we are convinced that slavery is wrong, and ought, at least, to be restricted. The question at issue in the debates, however—their morals and their politics—lie beyond the scope of our present inquiry. Look we then to the debaters themselves.

The jaunty manner in which Douglas had talked down to Lincoln, at the commencement of the canvass, in Chicago, had not left him when he opened the joint meetings, in Ottawa. At some of the intervening Democratic rallies, he had, it is true, so far forgotten himself as to indulge in violent utterances against his opponent; but when they stood face to face again, he patted him on the back, as before. And the caress was not the less gentle because it came between blows aimed at Lincoln's political record. Said Douglas:

"In the remarks I have made on this platform, and the position of Mr. Lincoln upon it, I mean nothing personally disrespectful or unkind to that gentleman. I have known him for nearly twenty-five years. There were many points of sympathy between us when we first got acquainted. We were both comparatively boys, and both struggling with poverty in a strange land. I was a school teacher in the town of Winchester, and he a flourishing grocery keeper in the town of Salem. He was more successful in his occupation than I was in mine, and hence more fortunate in this world's goods. Lincoln is one of those peculiar men who perform with admirable skill everything which they undertake. I made as good a school teacher as I could, and when a cabinet maker I made a good bedstead and tables, although my old boss said I succeeded better with bureaus and secretaries than with anything else; but I believe that Lincoln was always more successful in business than I, for his business enabled him to get into the legislature. I met him there, however, and had sympathy with him, because of the uphill struggle we both had in life. He was then just as good at telling an anecdote as now. He could beat any of the boys wrestling, or running a foot race, in pitching quoits, or tossing a copper; could ruin more liquor than all the boys of the town together, and the dignity and impartiality with which he presided at a horse race or fist fight excited the admiration and won the praise of everybody that was present and participated. I sympathized with him because he was struggling with difficulties, and so was I. Mr. Lincoln served with me in the legislature in 1836, when we both retired, and he subsided, or became submerged, and he was lost sight of as a public man for some years. In 1846, when Wilmot introduced his celebrated proviso and the Abolition tornado swept over the country, Lincoln again turned up as member of Congress from the Sangamon district. I was then in the Senate of the United States, and was glad to welcome my old friend and companion."

But the "old friend and companion," when he arose to reply, was in no mood for compliments. A bit of sarcasm was his only reference to the other's patronage.

"As the Judge had complimented me," said he, "with these pleasant titles (I must confess to my weakness) I was a little 'taken,' for it came from a great man. I was not very much accustomed to flattery, and it came the sweeter to me. I was rather like the Hoosier with the gingerbread, when he said he reckoned he loved it better than any other man, and got less of it. As the Judge had so flattered me, I could not make up my mind that he meant to deal unfairly with me."

It was a matter of fact, however, that Douglas had throughout, with the artfulness in which he knew no peer, so misrepresented Lincoln's career and misstated his principles as to place him almost entirely on the defensive. Purely defensive tactics, whether in physical or intellectual contests, rarely succeed. Hence the advantage, as the first debate closed, appeared to rest with the "Little Giant." Lincoln's speech, it is true, had been received with enthusiasm, and, as he left the platform, his excited supporters, lifting him upon their shoulders, had carried him, with songs and huzzas, to the place where he was to spend the night. Still, this happened in a Republican district, and his well-wishers elsewhere, as they read the report of the discussion in cold type, might with reason have renewed their fears for the result.

There was a change in the situation when next the champions met—at Freeport. Here Lincoln assumed the offensive, and thenceforth, to the end of the series, he frequently forced the fighting. Coolly parrying his antagonist's most dangerous blows, he countered with a force under which the redoubtable Douglas sometimes reeled. That gentleman's air of superiority soon disappeared. The pace became too hot for any such pretence. All his remarkable dialectic powers were called into play to combat a logic keener than his own and a straightforward persistence of purpose that no artifice could turn aside. While his sophisms were confuted and his untruths exposed, he had a way of introducing them over and, over again in bewildering guises. Not Proteus himself took so many shapes before he gave up the truth. Nor was the little old man of the sea enmeshed, at last, in his fetters more securely than was the "Little Giant" in the chain of reasoning that Lincoln so deftly wound around him. Twist and turn how he would, Douglas could not extricate himself. Losing his temper as he lost ground, he fell upon his adversary with personalities which the latter was not slow to return in kind. Then Douglas protested.

"Does Mr. Lincoln," he said at Galesburg, "wish to push these things to the point of personal difficulties here? I commenced this contest by treating him courteously and kindly; I always spoke of him in words of respect, and in return he has sought, and is now seeking, to divert public attention from the enormity of his revolutionary principles by impeaching men's sincerity and integrity, and inviting personal quarrels."

To which Mr. Lincoln replied:

"I do not understand but what he impeaches my honor, my veracity, and my candor, and because he does this, I do not understand that I am bound, if I see a truthful ground for it, to keep my hands off of him. As soon as I learned that Judge Douglas was disposed to treat me in this way, I signified in one of my speeches that I should be driven to draw upon whatever of humble resources I might have—to adopt a new course with him. I was not entirely sure that I should be able to hold my own with him, but I at least had the purpose made to do as well as I could upon him; and now I say that I will not be the first to cry, 'Hold!' I think it originated with the Judge, and when he quits, I probably will. But I shall not ask any favors at all. He asks me, or he asks the audience, if I wish to push this matter to the point of personal difficulty. I tell him, No. He did not make a mistake in one of his early speeches, when he called me an 'amiable' man, though perhaps he did when he called me an 'intelligent' man. It really hurts me very much to suppose that I have wronged anybody on earth. I again tell him, No. I very much prefer, when this canvass shall be over, however it may result, that we at least part without any bitter recollections of personal difficulties. The Judge, in his concluding speech at Galesburg, says that I was pushing this matter to a personal difficulty to avoid the responsibility for the enormity of my principles. I say to the Judge and this audience now, that I will again state our principles as well as I hastily can in all their enormity, and if the Judge hereafter chooses to confine himself to a war upon these principles, he will probably not find me departing from the same course."

This fairly indicates Lincoln's attitude. Thrice armed in the justice of his position, he held it with equal vigor, against argument or abuse, changing weapons as his adversary changed his, and evincing no animosity, even while he dealt the most telling strokes. His customary humor was, however, to a large extent, noticeable for its absence. When urged by his friends to introduce some of his witty illustrations and amusing anecdotes, so that audiences might applaud him as often as they did Douglas, he refused, saying:—

"The occasion is too serious. The issues are too grave. I do not seek applause, or to amuse the people, but to convince them."

Moreover, beyond the cloud of local voters that enveloped the rude platforms in the Illinois clearings, he saw what these friends and what Douglas himself too often lost sight of—the listening nation. To this larger forum Lincoln addressed himself. He was eager enough for the exalted office at stake; but what appealed as much, if not more, to his ambition, was the hope of overcoming his ancient rival, in the eyes of the whole country.

One incident of the debates is, in this connection, of particular interest. At the first meeting, Douglas challenged Lincoln to answer a series of seven interrogatories, based on the slavery problem. They were shrewdly calculated to entrap him into inconsistencies, or to elicit expressions of radical doctrine for which the people at large were hardly prepared. Lincoln did not formally reply at once, but during the interval between that and the following debate, he got ready a set of answers, remarkable for their blending of adroitness and candor. At the same time, as "questions" is a game that two can play, he framed four interrogatories, designed, in their turn, to embarrass Douglas. This was especially so of the one which read:—

"Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits, prior to the formation of a State constitution?"

The question would bring the author of "popular sovereignty" face to face with the irreconcilable contradiction between his theory that the people of a Territory had the right to exclude slavery, or not, as they wished, and his defense of the Dred Scott decision, according to which they had no such right. Was it wise, however, to give Douglas this opportunity for patching up the defect in his armor? "No," said the Republican leaders, to whom Lincoln submitted the questions, on the eve of the Freeport meeting,—unanimously, "No." Douglas, they said in effect, would not of his own accord, for fear of further offending the South, touch upon the subject any more than he found necessary. Consequently, his support of the decision might be attacked to advantage. On the other hand, argued they, if forced to give a categorical answer, he will say, "Yes," adhere to "popular sovereignty," declare that the decision is an abstract proposition dependent for its force upon local legislation, and thus gain a number of still doubtful votes.

"If he does that," said Lincoln, "he can never be President."

"But," replied one of his friends, "he may be Senator."

"Perhaps," rejoined Lincoln, but I am after larger game. The battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this."

His anxious supporters labored with him to the last moment before the debate opened, in the hope of persuading him to abandon that question. They protested, not unreasonably, against jeopardizing the present canvass for one that was two years distant, but their candidate, with the self-reliance that customarily followed his careful study of the subject, persisted in his purpose. When the question was put, Douglas answered as had been predicted, and how accurately the effects of that answer had been forecast by the questioner, we shall presently see.

Important as the debates were, they constituted but a small part of this memorable canvass. To consider all the elements that entered into the contest, and to credit each with its precise bearing upon the result, would be difficult, if not impossible. A number of speakers—aspirants for state offices and politicians generally—supported one or the other, as the case might be, of the senatorial candidates. The advantage, in this respect, owing to the eloquent aid of Trumbull probably lay with Lincoln. It is agreed, on the other hand, that circumstances favored Douglas, and that nothing did this to so great an extent as the hostility of President Buchanan. The administration party's effort to compass the Senator's defeat, its nomination of the third State ticket to divide the Democratic vote, its virulent attacks upon him in the press, and its abuse of Federal patronage to punish his supporters, served merely to close up the ranks of those supporters, as they glorified the most heroic courage with which he fought Republicans in front, and Buchanan Democrats in the rear. Moreover, the animosity of the President and his pro-slavery adherents against Douglas kept alive the sympathy of prominent Republicans, as well as other anti-administration leaders, throughout the country. They loved the "Little Giant"—somewhat as they did those who cherished a nobler Democrat, of a later day—for the enemies he had made, and their influence brought him many times as many votes as Buchanan took. Indeed, a single favorable letter, penned at a critical point in the struggle by Senator Crittenden, of Kentucky, turned the wavering scale in enough districts to insure the election of Douglas.

But what Douglas himself accomplished and how close his competitor kept to him, through it all, are the striking features of the contest. From the midsummer evening on which it was opened by the Democratic candidate in Chicago to the night before election, when he tried, during a chill November storm, to deliver his closing speech, in that same city, Douglas made a fight as spirited as it was able. Traversing the length and breadth of the State, he spoke at all hours and places, regardless of weather or personal fatigue. In the one hundred working days between July 9 and November 2, he made, according to his own statement, one hundred and thirty speeches. This vigorous campaign frequently necessitated traveling by night and speaking—for the most part, in the open air—several times on the same day; but the attendant hardships were alleviated, as much as could be, at every turn. Luxuriously fitted cars, filled with a retinue of friends, carried him to many of his appointments, as one contemporary says, "like a conquering hero." His approach was announced to the waiting crowds by salutes fired from cannon mounted on a platform car, and by the music of a brass band. Processions, banners, triumphal arches, decorations, receptions, serenades, fireworks, and the boisterous enthusiasm of the people—manufactured, when it failed to be spontaneous—stimulated Douglas, as would indeed have been the case with a man of weaker fiber, to strenuous exertion. Drawing upon all his resources, material no less than physical and intellectual, he cashed the obligations under which so many rested for political favors, into a large campaign fund that was disbursed with a lavish hand. His own contributions, leaving him deeply in debt, drained his estate to the extent, it is said, of eighty thousand dollars. This sum and Lincoln's subscription of five hundred dollars, or thereabouts, to the Republican fund, form a contrast, typical of the difference between the candidates and their methods, that ran through the entire canvass.

Neither enthusiasm nor the customary electioneering devices were lacking among Lincoln's followers, but their leader disliked "fizzlegigs and fireworks," to use his own phrase, as much as his competitor desired them. While the latter omitted no flourish that might gain a vote, the former replied, as much as his managers would let him, upon the stump; while the one was customarily driven through a town in the most elegant carriage to be obtained, the other was drawn about not infrequently on a farm-wagon; and, what was of the greatest importance, while Douglas enjoyed the best railroad facilities that money or influence could secure, Lincoln had to cover the same ground as he did, with scant favor. "At all points on the road where meetings between the two great politicians were held," relates Colonel Lamon, "either a special train or a special car was furnished to Judge Douglas; but Mr. Lincoln, when he failed to get transportation on the regular trains, in time to meet his appointments, was reduced to the necessity of going as freight. There being orders from headquarters to permit no passenger to travel on freight trains, Mr. Lincoln's persuasive powers were often brought into requisition. The favor was granted or refused according to the politics of the conductor. On one occasion, in going to meet an appointment in the southern part of the State—that section of Illinois called Egypt—Mr. Lincoln and I, with other friends, were traveling in the 'caboose' of a freight train, when we were switched off the main track to allow a special train to pass in which Mr. Lincoln's more aristocratic rival was being conveyed. The passing train was decorated with banners and flags, and carried a band of music which was playing 'Hail to the Chief.' As the train whistled past, Mr. Lincoln broke out in a fit of laughter and said, 'Boys, the gentleman in that car evidently smelt no royalty in our carriage.'"

Another incident in point is recalled by Major Whitney. "Lincoln and I," says he, "were at the Centralia agricultural fair, the day after the debate at Jonesboro. Night came on and we were tired, having been on the fair grounds all day. We were to go north on the Illinois Central Railroad. The train was due at midnight, and the depot was full of people. I managed to get a chair for Lincoln in the office of the Superintendent of the railroad but small politicians would intrude so that he could scarcely get a moment's sleep. The train came and was filled instantly. I got a seat near the door for Mr. Lincoln and myself. He was worn out and had to meet Douglas the next day at Charleston. An empty car, called a saloon car, was hitched on to the rear of the train and locked up. I asked the conductor, who knew Lincoln and myself well,—we were both attorneys of the road,—if Lincoln could not ride in that car; he was exhausted and needed rest; but the conductor refused. I afterward got him in by a stratagem. At the same time, George B. McClellan in person (then Vice-President of the road) was taking Douglas around in a special car and special train; and that was the unjust treatment Lincoln got from the Illinois Central Railroad."

Nevertheless, as the struggle drew to a close, the favored candidate, vigorous as he was, almost succumbed to the strain, and his voice became so hoarse that it was painful to hear him. On the other hand, Lincoln, who, without making so many speeches, had probably endured all that Douglas had and more, appeared to be in prime condition. His voice was as clear, his eye as bright, and his step as firm as if he were about to begin, not to end, one of the severest of political conflicts.

The election, which took place on November 2, resulted in a virtual victory, but at the same time, an actual defeat for Lincoln. His party, making heavy gains over its returns in 1856 when Buchanan carried Illinois, polled the largest popular vote and elected its State ticket. The Douglas men, however, profiting by inequalities in the apportionment of legislative districts, as well as by the fact that eight out of thirteen State Senators who held over were Democrats, had a majority, on joint ballot, in the legislature. When that body met in January, 1859, it accordingly re-elected Douglas.

Lincoln took his defeat as resignedly as could be expected. He was, as we have seen, not unprepared for such a result; yet this second check to his ambitions must have borne hard upon a man who once said he "would rather have a full term in the Senate than in the Presidency." The courageous, hopeful letters written by him, at about this time, do not—it is safe to say—reveal all his emotions. He felt, as he quaintly told a sympathetic friend, "like the boy that stumped his toe.—It hurt too bad to laugh and he was too big to cry." The toe had, on this occasion, not been seriously injured, however, for the big boy was still running with the little one. Their names were thenceforward linked together in the public mind. Those who had watched the contest attentatively agreed, for the most part, that Lincoln's failure had been as brilliant as Douglas's success. While the Senator had merely maintained the great prestige already established by him, throughout the land, his comparatively unknown opponent had leaped at one bound, as it were, into a national reputation. Some observers, in fact, undazzled by the Bengal lights of victory, recognized even then, what later judgment has confirmed, that the foremost campaigner of the Democracy had met his master.

After the conflict, Lincoln turned his attention again to his somewhat neglected private affairs. Urgent though these were, they did not—it is interesting to note—take his thoughts from the doctrines he had combatted, or from the man who had sought to uphold them. Douglas and "Douglasism," to use Lincoln's own word, were still at every turn the joint objects of his attacks. For, strange to relate, he deemed it necessary to oppose the Democratic leader anew, within, as well as outside of, the Republican ranks. Some members of the party, notwithstanding what the recent discussions had disclosed, persisted in the hope that the organization might yet march to power under the standard of the victorious Senator. Even a few of Lincoln's friends, for a brief period after his defeat, entertained this idea; but their leader—needless to say—lost no opportunity to counteract it. "Let the Republican Party of Illinois dally with Judge Douglas," said he, speaking at Chicago, in the spring of 1859. "Let them fall in behind him and make him their candidate, and they do not absorb him—he absorbs them. They would come out at the end all Douglas men, all claimed by him as having endorsed every one of his doctrines upon the great subject with which the whole nation is engaged at the hour." As late as the midsummer of that year, we find the speaker expressing uneasiness at seeing his "friends, leaning toward 'popular sovereignty'" and toward its author, "the most dangerous enemy of Liberty because the most insidious one." These warnings were re-enforced by the conduct of the Senator himself. That wily politician, as soon as he had secured his re-election, turned toward the South to regain the pro-slavery support which he had alienated at Freeport. His public utterances, about this time, particularly the speeches made on a southern tour that closely followed the debates, reveal how disastrous, if not fatal, his leadership might have been to the high aims of the Republican Party. But this peril passed over, with the approach of the fall elections, when party lines were again so sharply drawn that Lincoln and Douglas found themselves, as usual, in opposing camps.

At the request of the Ohio Democrats, Douglas visited that State in September, 1859, to help them elect their local ticket. Similar invitations, addressed to Lincoln from various quarters in the North, had been declined; but, when the Buckeye Republicans asked him to come and answer the speeches of this man who was regarded as his particular antagonist, he complied. Following Douglas, by a few days, at Columbus and at Cincinnati, respectively, he made two effective speeches. They dealt not solely with what had been said at those places, but indeed, with most, if not all, of the important arguments made by the Democratic leader in his addresses and his contributions to the press since the debates. For now, more than ever, Lincoln tenaciously stuck to Douglas. No public word or act of the Senator escaped the notice of his indefatigable rival. After the Ohio election, which resulted in favor of the Republicans, Lincoln journeyed to Kansas. There as elsewhere, to judge from the reports of his speeches—or rather from the fragments of several that have been preserved—"popular sovereignty," together with the expounder of the doctrine, was still uppermost in his mind. And a few weeks thereafter, when he delivered at Cooper Institute, in New York, the most elaborate address of his life, that same subject furnished a theme, and one of Douglas's speeches, a text. The oration at the metropolis was, in fact, a grand summing up of the controversy opened by Lincoln, as we have seen, somewhat over twenty months before, in the little western capital. By a sort of political miracle, the arena in which the contestants then faced each other had, with unexampled rapidity, grown until it became coextensive with the entire country. A nation had been watching the men and weighing the merits of their quarrel. The time for a final decision between them was almost at hand.

When the Republican national convention met in Chicago, in May, 1860, it passed over Seward, Chase, and other recognized leaders, who sought the presidency, to nominate Lincoln. This choice, though the causes and considerations which led to it were manifold, had its basis primarily on the record made by him in the fight against Douglas. For, sharp as had been that conflict between the two men, a sharper one, to all appearances, impended between their political supporters. The Republicans and the northern Democrats, entering upon the most momentous presidential campaign of our history, had embodied in their respective platforms the principles at issue throughout the debates. Consequently, when they came to select candidates who were to stand upon these platforms, they naturally regarded the debaters themselves as, in one important sense at least, their logical standard-bearers. So Lincoln was named at Chicago, and five weeks later, the Democratic national convention at Baltimore nominated Douglas.

But the second nomination was relatively a very different affair from the first. Lincoln received the unanimous vote of his party; Douglas was chosen by a mere rump. The Democracy had split across its middle, leaving the Senator from Illinois at the head of the northern half, and face to face with the fate foreseen by his competitor at Freeport. In the debate at that place, Douglas, as will be remembered, had been entrapped into an out-and-out declaration of his attitude toward slavery in the Territories. "It matters not," he had said, answering Lincoln's question, "what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a Territory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature; and if the people are opposed to slavery, they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst." This rare sophism, 'as thin,' to use a Lincolnian illustration, "as the homeopathic soup that was made by boiling the shadow of a pigeon

that had been starved to death," had nevertheless served Douglas's purpose with the Democrats of Illinois. But how had it affected his popularity with the party at large, and, above all, would it, as Lincoln had predicted, cost him the presidency?

The applause of the Senator's constituents over the subterfuge of "unfriendly legislation" had not subsided before a storm of protest arose in the South. Denunciation of Douglas and his "Freeport heresy," so-called, filled the pro-slavery press; adherents of Buchanan, pointing to the obnoxious avowal as conclusive evidence of apostasy, assailed him in rapidly increasing numbers, and, if possible, more bitterly than ever; while those of the Southern leaders who might have overlooked his quarrel with the administration also raised their voices in condemnation of what they regarded as a betrayal of their dearest interests. In vain had Douglas hurried South, after the debate, with speeches that commended slavery. Fruitless were the addresses and pamphlets in which he had sought to defend his position. To no purpose had it been pointed out that he was pursuing the only course which the Democratic party could hope for success in the free States. "His explanations explanatory of explanations explained," as Lincoln facetiously described them, appeared indeed to be "interminable"; yet all without avail. By that answer at Freeport—a formal declaration at least of theories previously hinted at—Douglas had destroyed what remained of his Southern prestige. The slaveholders could have forgiven much in a man who throughout his entire career, more efficiently than any other Northern politician, had fetched and carried for them; but this shifty doctrine, proclaiming "the institution" at the mercy of local laws, put forth as it was, on the eve of their last desperate civil campaign, had marked him for sacrifice. Hence the Southern delegates to the Democratic national convention were resolved—cost what it might—upon the overthrow of their once serviceable champion. His Northern supporters, on the other hand, were as determined to make him their candidate. After a number of stormy sessions, in which the two factions drew farther and farther apart, the members from "the cotton States," together with their sympathizers from other sections, seceded to organize the pro-slavery convention that nominated John C. Breckinridge; and what was left of the national convention chose Douglas to lead its forlorn hope.

So the "Little Giant" and the big one entered upon what proved to be their last contest. Douglas was heavily handicapped. His support in the South, as if it had not been sufficiently reduced by the disruption of the Democratic party and the candidacy of Breckinridge, was still further impaired by the nomination, on a fourth ticket, of John Bell, of Tennessee. Yet Douglas was game. Disregarding the wisdom and good taste that have, with rare exceptions, restrained presidential candidates from advocating their own election, he threw himself into the fight with all the energy which had characterized his previous campaigns. In an extensive tour through the country, he made many speeches, striking now at this competitor, now at that. His old opponent, however, for the first time in the history of their rivalry, was mute. Lincoln's cause was advocated by capable men enough, yet it must have irked him to remain at home inactive while Douglas, traveling from city to city, continued to state his side of their debate. The Democratic leader, in truth, presented no new arguments, and his old ones the Republican had, over and over, refuted. Popular sovereignty and the Freeport doctrine—twin nostrums of an unscrupulous political quack—had, thanks to Lincoln, been exposed in all their futility. The time for shifts and delusions had passed. Symptoms of trouble multiplied on every hand. Columbia was sick—sick unto death. A black fever was upon her. Heroic treatment alone might save her. In this extremity, which of the two men—for the choice really lay between them—would the nation trust? The decision rested with the Northern States. Small wonder that, with a single exception, they turned from the charlatan and placed themselves in the hands of the master who had discredited him. Lincoln was elected. He led Douglas, at the polls, by about five hundred thousand votes; and in the electoral college, his ballots were 180 to Douglas's 12. What the result might have been had the candidate of the Northern Democrats received the nomination of a united party, with but Lincoln and himself in the field, is, of course, purely a matter for speculation. The votes that were cast for Breckinridge and Bell, together with his own, would have given Douglas a majority on popular ballot; yet even so, his total from the electors would have been only 123, and whether or not he could have improved upon that figure, in a single-handed canvass against Lincoln, is beyond reasonable conjecture. In any event, defeated, North and South, he had ceased to be a vital factor in political calculations. All eyes were turned upon his successful rival; for the long race between Lincoln and Douglas was finished, and Lincoln had won.

When the president-elect, on inauguration day, stepped out upon the platform that had been erected in front of the eastern portico of the capitol, he found the senior senator from Illinois among the distinguished men who sat awaiting him. Mr. Lincoln, as if to add to the novelty of the situation, was dressed in fine clothes, of which, for the moment, he appeared to be all too conscious. In one hand he held a new silk hat; in the other a gold-headed cane. What to do with them perplexed him. After some hesitation, he put the cane into a corner; but he could find no place for the hat, which he evidently was unwilling to lay on the rough board floor. As he stood there in embarrassment, with the waiting multitude looking up curiously at him, his old rival came to his rescue. Taking the precious hat from its owner's hand, Douglas held it, while Lincoln took the oath of office and delivered his inaugural address. The incident, simple in itself, forms a dramatic climax to the lifelong competition between them. As Lincoln stands forth crowned with the highest honors to which their conflicting ambitions had aspired, Douglas, in the background, humbly holds the victor's hat.

Two of the horses in the six-horse team hitched to the Conestoga wagon which hauled Abraham Lincoln to the scene of the debate on August 27, 1858, were furnished by W. W. Hutchison, of this county.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

THE SPLENDID EULOGY

Delivered in Freeport, August 27, 1908, the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Lincoln and Douglas Debate, by His Friend and Admirer.

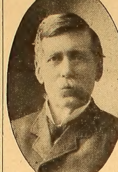
HON. W. T. DAVIDSON

of Lewistown.

Mr. Davidson on being introduced to the audience spoke as follows:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: At the opening of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates in 1858 Mr. Lincoln said of Mr. Douglas:

"Twenty-two years ago Judge Douglas and I became acquainted. We were both young then, he a trifle younger than I (four years). Even then we were both ambitious—I perhaps quite as much as he. With me the race of ambition has been a failure—a flat failure. With him it has been one of splendid success. His name fills the nation and is not unknown in foreign lands. I affect no contempt for the high eminence he



HON. W. T. DAVIDSON,
Who speaks on Douglas.

has reached. I would rather stand upon that eminence than wear the richest crown that ever decked a monarch's brow. The judge means to keep me down—not put me down, I should not say, for I have never been up."

How Lincolnesqe this tribute to his political opponent; How generous, gentle and sweet! If I were speaking of Lincoln today, instead of for Douglas, I should use that little classic as a text. I would not take one jewel from the matchless diadem of Abraham Lincoln. His was the gentlest, sweetest, truest soul the earth has known since the Christ. His fame, humble as he knew it was in 1858, now fills all civilized lands and grows brighter with the fleeting years.

But I am to speak this day, on the scene of the greatest of the great debates of fifty years ago, of Stephen A. Douglas, my boyhood friend and idol. He was often a guest at my father's home in Lewistown in the early '40's while he was holding circuit court throughout the Military Tract, as was then the duty of justices of the supreme court of the state. In 1855 I became connected with the Fulton County Democrat of Lewistown, Ill., and from that time was in close touch with politics and politicians, and was editor of that paper during the great debates in 1858 as I am today. I personally knew both Douglas and Lincoln and often heard their speeches. With the other provincial editors of those days I practically knew by heart the speeches of Lincoln, Douglas, Seward, Jefferson Davis, Sumner, Lyman Trumbull, Robert Toombs, Salmon P. Chase and the other great statesmen of both sections of that time. Thus equipped for this task, as a Douglas Democrat of that time and to this hour, I beg permission very swiftly to sketch the career of the greatest constructive statesman this country has ever known and perhaps the greatest forensic debater in the annals of history.

Mr. Douglas was born in April, 1813, in Brandon, Vermont—the very center of New England Puritanism and Abolitionism—the New England, after all, that is the intellectual Eden of this nation and the glory, pride and envy of all the sections. The future eminent Democrat was born there. His father, an able physician, died when Stephen was two months old. As the lad grew older he worked on his mother's farm nine months in the year, attending the common school during the three winter months until he was 15. After that he was permitted to spend three years in two academies. Meantime he attempted to learn the cabinet trade, but was so slight in build and so frail that he was compelled to give it up in 18 months. Then he commenced reading law, but at 21 years of age started on the long journey to the west. At Cleveland, Cincinnati, Louisville and St. Louis and Jacksonville he could find no employment. From Jacksonville he walked 18 miles to Winchester with only 37 1-2 cents in his pocket. His first employment was as clerk to an auctioneer for three days in selling a bankrupt stock of merchandise for which he was paid six dollars. So well had he performed the duties of clerk that he at once was given a 3 months school with 40 pupils at $3 each for the term. He continued his reading of the law during the nights and practicing before justices of the peace on Saturdays. With the money thus earned he returned to Jacksonville where he was soon licensed to practice law. About this time a noted Whig lawyer named Lanborn delivered a speech in Jacksonville in which the administration of President Jackson was savagely attacked. The Democrats were sorely humiliated because they had no capable orator at hand to defend their cause. Douglas in his youth was a great favorite as a speaker, and particularly as a debater. It was suggested that he might pretty well answer the veteran Whig. So on the following night he was put up on a box near the court house with a great crowd about him. Not much was expected of the slight little fellow who did not weigh 100 pounds. But even then his voice was like the heavier notes of a cathedral organ. He was marvelously learned in all the political subjects of the time. In a speech of two hours he had the veteran Whig orator pitifully defeated and so thoroughly humiliated that he left the ground. The Democrats were wild with joy. A lot of farmers picked the little fellow up and carried him several times around the court house, crying "Little Giant!" "Little Giant!" "Little Giant!" the loving epithet he bore to his death. It was the first of his forensic battles. The kid had made good. He had locally become famous in a night. At 22 he was attorney general of the state. In rapid succession he became a member of the legislature, register of the land office, secretary of state, justice of the supreme court of Illinois. In every position he made good. In 1843, in his 30th year he was elected to congress by 400 majority, was re-elected by 1900 and for the third time by 3000 majority, but before he could take his seat he was elected to the United States senate where he took his seat March 4, 1847, and remained a senator to his death in June, 1861.

Douglas had made good! He had honored every place of trust he had ever held from clerk at the Winchester auction sale to his place in the imperial senate of the nation. Because he had made good and won the people to him, he was lifted from one place of honor to another with a rapidity that makes one dizzy as he tells the tale. His first work in congress was to secure for Illinois a grant of each alternate section of land along the proposed line of the Central Illinois Railroad from Galena to Cairo, securing the early completion of that railroad, but with the remarkable provision, now imbedded in the constitution of the state, that the railway company for all time should annually pay, in consideration of the land dowry, seven per cent of its gross earnings into the treasury of the state. This annual payment, when honestly collected, now amounts to a million dollars, or a much larger sum. I know of no other mortal who has ever secured a like benefit for his state or the nation from any bonused railroad.

One of the first things Douglas did upon entering congress was to secure the passage of a bill to refund to the old hero of New Orleans the fine of $1,000 imposed upon him in 1814 by Judge Hall at New Orleans because he had suspended the writ of habeas corpus and imprisoned Hall and his confederate traitors and spies while he was winning the great battle of New Orleans that forever swept the army of Great Britain from our shores. It was his maiden speech in congress. From that hour, at the age of 30, he was a leader in the congress.

In 1844 came on the great questions of the Oregon Boundary and the annexation of Texas. Great Britain, as has been her marauding habit from time immemorial with all weaker nations, was persistently encroaching upon our northwestern territory until she was claiming almost the whole of Oregon. The Democratic slogan in its national platform of 1844, when Polk was nominated, was practically "Fifty Four Forty or Fight." The clever southern leaders did not want any more free territory—were antagonistic to the Democratic beligerent claim. Douglas was the leader in the militant demand, "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight." But he was finally defeated in securing our full just demands by the weakness of President Polk who compromised on parallel 49, thus sacrificing a strip 330 mile wide of territory justly ours. Douglas had stood loyally by his country and against the plottings of the southern leaders in the interest of slavery.

At the same time came on the controversy relating to the annexation of Texas. Here the tables were turned—the northern radicals were opposed to the annexation of Texas and the Mexican war because they did not want to extend slave territory. Among the men whom Douglas met and vanquished in this latter debate was "The Old Man Eloquent," the venerable John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, who had been president, and in his old age had been returned to the lower house of congress.

In all these great contentions Douglas had been the conquering hero—in every one winning glory and renown for his whole country, unbiased by sectionalism, equally opposing the fire-eaters of the south and the radicals of the north in their narrow sectional demands.

During his last two years in the house and for eleven years in the senate Douglas was chairman of the committee on territories, at that time by far the most important committee in either house because of the difficulties of the slavery question—all that time the great peril convulsing the union and threatening its destruction. During that time he wrote with his own hand, reported and carried respectively through the house and senate the bills organizing the territories of Minnesota, Oregon, New Mexico, Washington, Kansas and Nebraska, and also the bills for the admission of the states of Iowa, Wisconsin, California, Minnesota and Oregon—neither of the territories or states ever opened or dedicated to slavery. In 1857 Douglas was ousted from the committee, on which he had done such marvelous work for his country, by President James Buchanan and his brother conspirators because the immortal Douglas had killed and buried the infamous Lecompton constitution carried through by fraud to fasten slavery upon Kansas against the wish of its people.

These are mere incidents in the mighty record of Douglas' work as the greatest constructive statesman the country ever produced. It would not only require volumes, but a large library, to adequately tell the story of his ever successful part in the legislation of congress on hundreds of vital subjects during his eighteen years of service in both bodies. No wonder Lincoln said: "I would rather stand upon the eminence attained by Douglas than wear the richest crown that ever decked a monarch's brow."

I have been compelled to go into these condensed details of the life of Douglas because he went into oblivion 47 years ago beneath the great moral wave that lifted his boyhood friend and opponent to the stars. Since then hundreds of histories and millions of speeches have been made for Lincoln. In 47 years Douglas has had no defense until this hour. All the newer generations of Americans know of him—all that has filtered even through our school histories—have been fished by muckrakes from the libels, slanders and coarse blackguardism of the putrid political campaigns from 1850 to 1860. Suppose all you knew of Lincoln, ladies and gentlemen, came from Democratic sources in those days of mutual villainous misrepresentation and abuse of candidates.

I have already shown you that Douglas forever thus far had never taken sides in any controversy over slavery with the south. Permit me at this point to show you where he stood regarding chattel slavery. I have told you that he was born and reared in the state of Vermont in the very atmosphere of Puritanism and Abolitionism. A boy thus raised could not but loathe beyond words that "sum of villainies." In April 1847, a month after he had entered the senate, he was married to a southern girl, the only child of Col. Richard Martin, of Rockingham county, North Carolina. The morning after the wedding Col. Martin presented deeds to several plantations and some hundreds of negro slaves in Mississippi. Mr. Douglas immediately and decidedly declined the gift, saying to Col. Martin that under no circumstances could he consider the question of owning a slave or ever receiving one cent from slave labor. Appleton's Encyclopedia of American Biography will give you the facts as to this incident. Mr. Douglas never saw the plantations or one of the slaves—never received one dollar from plantations or slaves. He was then a poor man and died a poor man. I protest that here was the greatest sacrifice ever made by any northern man to show his loathing for slavery except that made by old John Brown.

Permit me to briefly state just here the situation as to the institution of slavery. The slave area consisted of less than one-fourth of the total area of the United States and its boundaries were fixed by free states on the north, the Atlantic ocean and Gulf of Mexico on the east and south, and by impossible mountains and deserts on the west. The free territory, on the contrary was constantly opening up on and on to the constantly widening west and northwest with groups of free territories in steady preparation for admission as free states into the union. In it was evidently only a question of time until the south would be in a great minority in the senate and helpless to oppose the growing antagonism of northern radicals to their "peculiar institution." Here very evidently was involved the loss, at no distant day, of two billions of dollars worth of chattel slaves and the utter destruction of the south's labor system.

Meantime radical anti-slavery people of the north, and particularly of the New England states, were more and more active in their opposition to slavery and in their determination to have it abolished in the southern states in spite of the constitutional protection thrown about it.

So bitter had become this controversy that disunion and civil war were only averted in 1820 by the adoption of the Missouri Compromise, an agreement that Missouri should be admitted to the union as a state, coupled with the tentative adoption of the parallel 36 deg. and 30 minutes, north of which slavery should never be admitted. This line commenced on the western boundary of Missouri and went west only to the Rocky Mountains. And yet northern radicals in congress refused to admit Missouri under this agreement until its people agreed to a further concession in changing their constitution that had forbidden the entrance to that state of free negroes.

The annexation of Texas, the Mexican war and the cession to our government of New Mexico, Utah and California, in the '40's, had reopened this vexed slavery question. Northern congressmen refused to carry the Missouri line to the ocean. In 1850 California was admitted to the union with a free constitution on the vote of her people, although two-thirds of the state lay above that line and one-third below it. New Mexico, entirely south of that line, was organized as a territory with a free constitution. All this without serious opposition on the part of the south.

Again in 1850 the vexed question of slavery was rampant between the radcals north and south. In fixing the southern boundary of Utah New England senators refused to have 36-30 fixed as a line. They did not care if 37 or 35 were named. Senator Hale and others expressed their repugnance to the "infamous line that suggested there might be human slavery on either side of it!" Was not this a full rejection of that "sacred Missouri Compromise?" The southern leaders demanded new guarantees for their "peculiar institution." Disunion and civil war was again imminent in 1850.

There never would have been a serious agitation of the slavery question in this country—never would have been attempts made by fanatics in New England and fire-eaters in the south to dissolve the union—never would have been the awful civil war—except for the well-meant, but fanatical, untenable, and immensely injurious application of the "higher law" (what the fanatics supposed to be the will of God) to the nullification of the constitution and laws of this republic. Of course it is ANARCHY—the doing away of all law and order—leaving each individual, or group of individuals, to nullify any part of the national constitution or statute laws, setting up in their stead the individual or group's interpretation of what God would have him or it to do in that case. It is not "ancient history." That spirit is abroad in the land today. It will appear in the present presidential campaign. I beg to answer and demolish that theory through the lips of a great statesman and patriot dead for half a century.

In 1850 the congress was in session from the preceding December the whole hot summer thru well into October, in a titanic effort by Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Lewis Cass, Stephen A. Douglas and 20 more of the mightiest men who ever appeared in the United States senate, **to save the republic from dissolution and civil war, then imminent from slavery agitation.** The horror was temporarily averted at the close of that memorable session by the adoption of the "Compromise of 1850," as follows:

1. The admission of California with her free constitution.
2. The erection of a territorial government for Utah, leaving the people to regulate their domestic institutions (including slavery.)
3. The creation of a territorial government for New Mexico with the same provisions.
4. The adjustment of the disputed boundary with Texas.
5. The abolition of the slave trade (buying and selling) in the District of Columbia.
6. The amendment of the fugitive slave law of 1793.

Five of these measures were in favor of the north. But the amendment of the fugitive slave law set the radicals of the north on fire with indignation, altho the law was imbedded in the constitution as follows:

"No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such labor or service, **but shall be delivered up on the claim of the person to whom such labor or service may be due.**"

Yet for obeying the constitution and passing an amended law carrying out its provisions, the "Godlike" Daniel Webster was hooted and hissed thru Massachusetts, had his Boston statute demolished, and was refused permission by Massachusetts fanatics to defend himself in Faneuil Hall!

Douglas "traveled from Washington to his home in Cicago by the light of his burning effigies." As he arrived in Chicago he found half its citizens assembled, denouncing him in fiery speeches and ruthless resolutions. The common council had met and ordered the police to disregard the law. The whole city seemed in arms against him. But Douglas announced that in the same place on the following night (Oct. 23, 1850,) he would make answer for his acts as their senator and would answer every question on the spot that might be propounded to him. As promised on the night named he addressed an audience of 4,000 people—three fourths of the male population of the city—with many armed negroes and fugitives near the stand, from 7:30 p. m. until near midnight, promptly answering scores of questions asked him. The speech was printed in the city papers two days later. He had answered and silenced every questioner. Finally came this question relating to the "higher law;"

("Here a gentleman arose and enquired of Mr. Douglas whether the clause in the constitution providing for the surrender of fugitive slaves was not in violation of the laws of God.")

The instant, impromptu, incomparable reply of Senator Douglas is one of the forgotten world's classics. It should have place in school history. It should be a theme of patriotic declamation among the young. In its splendid English, its faultless logic, its divine loyalty to the constitution, the law, the union, and the orderly government of the people, it is unsurpassed, unequalled, even by Webster's deathless reply to Hayne. Senator Douglas said:

"The Divine Law is appealed to as authority for disregarding our most sacred duties to society. The city council have appealed to it as their excuse for nullyfying an act of congress; and the committee embodied the same principle in their resolutions to the meeting here assembled last night, as applicable both to the constitution and laws. The general proposition that there is a law paramount to all human enactments—the Supreme Ruler of the universe—I trust that no civil and christian people are prepared to question, much less deny. We should all recognize, respect and revere the divine law. But we should bear in mind that the law of God, as revealed to us, is intended to operate on our consciences, and insure the performance of our duties as individuals and christians. The divine law does not prescribe the form of government under which we shall live, and the character of our political and civil institutions. Revelation has not furnished us with a constitution—a code of international law—and a system of civil and municipal jurisprudence. It has not determined the right of persons and property, much less the peculiar privileges which shall be awarded to each class of persons under any particular form of government. God has created man in his own image, and endowed him with the right of self government, so soon as he shall evince the requisite intelligence, virtue, and capacity to assert and enjoy the privilege. The history of the world furnishes few examples where any considerable portion of the human race have shown themselves sufficiently enlightened and civilized to exercise the right and enjoy the blessings of freedom. In Asia and Africa we find nothing but ignorance, superstition, and despotism. Large portions of Europe and America can scarcely lay claim to civilization and christianity; and a still smaller portion have demonstrated their capacity for self government. Is all this contrary to the laws of God? And if so, who is responsible? The civilized world has always held that when any race of men have shown themselves so degraded, by ignorance, superstition, cruelty, and barbarism, as to be utterly incapable of governing themselves, they must, in the nature of things, be governed by others, by such laws as are deemed applicable to their condition. It is upon this principle alone that England justifies the form of government she has established in India, and for some of her other colonies—that Russia justifies herself in holding her serfs as slaves and selling them as part of the land on which they live—that our pilgrim fathers justified themselves in reducing the negroes and Indians to servitude, and selling them as property—that we in Illinois and most of the free states justify ourselves in denying the negro and Indian the privilege of voting, and other political rights—and that many of the states of the union justify themselves in depriving the white man of the right of the elective franchise, unless he is fortuate enough to own a certain amount of property.

"These things certainly violate the principle of absolute equality among men when considered as component parts of a political society of government, and so do many provisions of the constitution of the United States, as well as the several states of the union. In fact no government ever existed on earth in which there was a perfect equality in all things among those composing it and governed by it. Neither sacred nor profane history furnishes an example. If inequality in the form and principles of government is therefore to be deemed a violation of the laws of God, and punishable as such, who is to escape? Under this principle all christendom is doomed, and no pagan for can hope for mercy! Many of these things are, in my opinion, unwise and unjust, and, of course, subversive of Republican principles; but I am not prepared to say they are either sanctioned or condemned by the divine law. Who can assert that God has prescribed a form and principles of government, and the character of the political, municipal and domestic institutions of men on earth? This doctrine would annihilate the fundamental principles upon which our political system rests. Our forefathers held that the people had an inherent right to establish such constitution and laws for the government of themselves and their posterity as they should deem best calculated to insure the protection of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the same might be altered and changed as experience should satisfy them to be necessary and proper. Upon this principle the constitution of the United States was formed, and our glorious union established. All acts of congress passed in pursuance of the constitution are declared to be the supreme laws of the land, and the supreme court of the United States is charged with expounding the same. All officers and magistrates under the federal and state governments—executive, legislative, judicial, and ministerial—are required to take an oath to support the constitution before they can enter upon the performance of their respective duties. Any citizen, therefore, who in his conscience believes that the constitution of the United States is in violation of a 'higher law,' has no right, as an honest man, to take office under it, or exercise any other function of citizenship conferred by it. Every person born under the constitution owes allegiance to it, and every naturalized citizen takes an oath to support it. Fidelity to the constitution is the only passport to the enjoyment of rights under it. When a senator-elect presents his credentials, he is not allowed to take his seat until he places his hand upon the Holy Evangelist and appeals to his God for the sincerity of his vow to support the constitution. He who does this with a mental reservation or secret intention to disregard any of the provisions of the constitution commits a double crime—is morally guilty of perfidy to his God and treason to his country! If the constitution of the United States is to be repudiated upon the ground that it is repugnant to the divine law, where are the friends of freedom and christianity o look for another and a better? Who is to be the prophet to reveal the will of God, and establish a theocracy for us? Is he to be found in the ranks of northern abolitionism, or of southern disunion; or is the common council of the city of Chicago to have the distinguished honor of furnishing the chosen one? I will not venture to enquire what are to be the form and principles of the new government, or to whom is to be entrusted the execution of its sacred functions; for when we decide that the wisdom of our revolutionary fathers was foolishness, and their piety wickedness, and destroy the only system of self government that has ever realized the hopes of the friends of freedom and commanded the respect of mankind, it becomes us to wait patiently until the purposes of the Latter Day Saints shall be revealed unto us.

"For my part I am prepared to maintain and preserve inviolate the constitution as it is, with all its compromises, to stand or fall by the American union, clinging with the tenacity of life to all its glorious memories of the past and precious hopes for the future."

As a result of this five-hour speech the great assemblage unanimously passed resolutions sustaining Douglas and the compromise measures, including the fugitive slave act. The city council also immediately held a special session and by a vote of 12 to 1 revoked their nullifying resolution.

The compromise measures of 1850 were adopted four to one in the senate—were only opposed by a few radicals of the south and the north. In the lower house they were carried through by a smaller majority. Yet that comprise was generally accepted by the people of both sections as a final settlement of the vexed slavery question as the presidential election of 1852 showed. In that election Franklin Pierce, democrat, received 254 electoral votes; Gen. Winfield Scott, whig, 42; John Parker Hale, abolitionist none. The whig and democratic parties had a nearly equal following in both sections—were both broadly national, not sectional, parties. This sweeping defeat of the whig party, with the almost simultaneous lamented death of its greatest leaders, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, (the former in June and the latter in October in 1852,) resulted in the dissolution of the great old political party that only recently had elected Taylor and then Harrison to the presidency. Clay and Webster in their old age never rallied from the terrific strain of the struggle in the senate during the heated summer of 1850 to save the union from dismemberment. Douglas was a younger man, but his childhood feebleness came back to him during that fierce contest. He was not a member of the eminent Committee of Thirteen chosen in the senate by ballot, because he was chairman of the committee on territories on whom the burden of preparing the bills in controversy would fall. Prominent on that committee were Clay, chairman, Daniel Webster, Lewis Cass and ten others of the greatest statesmen and patriots of that golden age of the senate. But Chairman Clay generously gave Douglas the entire credit of preparing the bills for the admission of California as a state and organizing Utah (including Nevada and Arizona) and New Mexico as territories, all with free constitutions. Douglas survived the ordeal, but never recovered his health. He was a sick and dying man when the great debates of 1858 were held. The debates of 1850 were not like the whirlwind speaking campaigns that made Bryan and President Benjamin Harrison and Roosevelt famous. During all the blistering summer of 1850 it was a ceaseless battle by day and night with the brilliant, alert and bitter leaders of disunion in the south and their unconscious allies for disunion, the sincere but fanatical, hysterical, sectional, "higher-law" abolitionists of New England and Ohio, particularly.

But during the following four years there was quiet and peace except for the fanatical nullification of the fugitive slave law in various storm centers of abolitionism.

Amidst this profound calm, on Jan. 4th, 1854, Mr. Douglas, chairman of the senate committee on territories, introduced the bill organizing Nebraska as a territory, accompanied by a written report which stated that the bill was designed to carry out in gool faith the principles adopted by congress in the compromise measures of 1850, and which report closed as follows:

"From these provisions it is apparent that the compromise measures of 1850 affirm and rest upon the following propositions:

"1. That all questions pertaining to slavery in the territories, and in the new states to be formed therefrom, are to be left to the people residing therein, by their appropriate representatives to be chosen by them for that purpose.

"2. That 'all cases involving title to slaves,' and 'cases of personal freedom,' are referred to the adjudiciation of the local tribunals with the right of appeal to the supreme court of the United States.

"3. That the provision of the constitution of the United States, in respect to fugitives from service, is to be carried into faithful execution in all the territories the same as in the states. The substitute for the bill which your committee have prepared, and which is commended to the favorable action of the senate, proposes to carry these propositions and principles into practical operation in the precise language of the compromise measures of 1850."

And now comes the blackest incident in the history of the United States senate. I am quoting from the Congressional Record of the dates mentioned. On the 24th of the same month, Jan. 24, 1854, the Nebraska bill was taken up for final action. Senator Salmon P. Chase of Ohio suggested in courteous terms that the senate had not had time for the examination of the bill.

"Only yesterday (he said) the committee changed the form of the bill altogether and proposed to make two territories instead of one, and also very materially changed its provisions in other respects. It was only laid upon the desks of senators this morning and I presume that no one has had the opportunity to read it."

Mr. Douglas courteously acquiesced and on his motion consideration of the bill was postponed one week, to Jan. 30th. In the meantime a sensational, secret and infamously false circular, brimming over with scurrilous slanders of Douglas, had been issued, dated Jan. 23, 1854. (Sunday), and signed by Senator Chase, also Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, and Senator William H. Seward of New York, also by Joshua R. Giddings, Edward Wade, Gerrit Smith, Alexander DeWitt and several other members of the lower house. This circular was spread broadcast throughout the north, especially among editors and thousands of ministers. Most of the state legislatures were then in session and the circular was designed to have an immediate effect upon those bodies. Very evidently Senator Chase's courteous appeal to have final action upon the bill postponed for a week was designed to give time for the senate to be deluged with frantic appeals to reject the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The circular in vilest scurrility charged that Douglas had conspired with southern disunion leaders to force slavery upon the great central territories of Kansas and Nebraska and that the bill before the senate had no other purpose. Space does not permit me to quote the fiery denunciation with which Douglas blistered Chase and his friends in the infamy. Seward confessed his name had been forged to the circular. Others denied that they had ever seen or signed the paper. Douglas and his friends knew nothing of this infamy until Jan. 30th when the whole north was on fire with indignation beyond the bounds of reason. It was the most tremendous event thus far in the history of the congress. It was as if fire-bells had been set clanging at midnight in every hamlet and city of the north. A thousand ministers forgot God and heaven to shriek for a free Kansas. Legislatures in wild frenzy bombarded congress with protests against the Kansas-Nebraska bill. It was pandemonium from ocean to ocean.

All this in spite of the fact that Douglas had organized seven territories, three of them south of the Missouri line and five states, including California, one-third below that line, and every one with a free constitution. In spite of the fact that Jefferson Davis and the other radical pro-slavery senators of the south had opposed popular sovereignty as vigorously as had northern radicals. In spite of the fact that it had been demonstrated in New England, in Illinois and many other northern states that slavery could not be established or sustained in the temperate zone or north of the hot cotton and sugar belt. Jefferson Davis had frankly said that without a congressional slave code to protect slavery in Kansas it could not live longer than a new-born babe on the burning sands of Sahara without a mother's care.

What was the motive of that famous secret circular?

The whig party had been disbanded. The triumphant democratic party was left alone in the national field. A new party must be formed, and in a hurry. The Fire-Alarm Circular did the job. Instantly there was a gathering of the clans of the free-soil whigs; the little body of radical abolitionists who had just voted for Hale; the know nothings; the anti-masons; the anti-mormons; the free-lovers; the spiritualists; the transcendentalists; the puritans; the prohibitionists—all the little groups of sincere reformers between the Golden Gate and Cape Cod were hived by the Fire-Alarm Circular into the one historic and magnificent organization known for fifty years as the republican party. Not in Bloomington as alleged, not in a little Wisconsin town that claims the honor, but in the senate of the United States, on Sunday, Jan. 23rd, 1854, was born the republican party. And there on that day were set the fires of the civil war that cost a million precious lives and seventeen billion in treasure.

Dear old Admiral Bob Evans one Sunday wandered into a fashionable New York church. He was a little too early for the ushers, so he finally sat down in a richly cushioned pew. A little later came to the pew a pompous gentleman and his richly dressed wife. He glared angrily at the old admiral who only courteously moved over to make room for the late-comers. Sitting down the gentleman wrote upon a slip of paper and passed to old Bob this statement: "I have paid $1,500 for the exclusive use of this pew." The admiral as promptly turned the scrap over and wrote in reply, "You paid too d--d much." Pardon an old fellow for the suggestion that we paid too much for the republican party.

The history of the slavery controversy which I have given you from the Congressional Record fully introduces the Lincoln-Douglas debate in this fair city 50 years ago.

There was but one clear-cut, three cornered issue considered in the Great Debate, the status of slavery in the territories.

Mr. Lincoln and his party contended that congress should by legislation keep slavery out of them.

Jefferson Davis and his brother southern radicals agreed with the Lincoln party that congress had all the power over the question, but that it should by law protect slavery in the

territories. Douglas and the conservative democrats north and south held that it was a local and domestic concern which under the constitution should exclusively and finally be settled by the people of the respective states and by the people of a territory when they came to organize a territorial government, by a popular vote and a portion in this great audience who will not remember that the people of the north never would have submitted to the despotic contention of the south and equally that the people of the south never would have submitted to the radical contention of the north. Either horn of this dilemma, civil war or a dissolution of the union and the final and utter defeat of the best and brightest hope of government, of joy and for the people. The latter has contention was not a new and sudden. It was the same that divided the south at itsoutset in one of the American people from the very history and even all the national question was one Revolutionary fathers fought to establish. Douglas held: "The colonies did not labor—should were peculiar—to secure the general government of the parent state; they were proud to be under the care and protection of the state and her great army and world power; the tax fathers did not declare the despotism of King George and his ministry to be unbearable, and they did not complain of being required to support a standing army in the midst of peace. They were represented in parliament. Nobody ever answered Douglas on this contention. Nobody ever successfully answered him on the contention that the power to regulate the relation of master and servant was never delegated to the several governments, but, with a thousand other powers were reserved to the people of the several states and localities and inferentially to the people of each territory when under the law it came to be organized as a territory. Unmatched was the power with which Douglas, in the senate and on a hundred "stumps" in the south as well as in the north, declared as one of the ablest divine achievements of mortal men the formation of our federal constitution, leaving to the liberated states with their marvelous contrasts in climate and environment productions and varying needs, absolute sovereignty over the local and domestic powers of government, except such as were expressly granted or plainly named which it was necessary for the general government to exercise to congress—the power to coin money, to declare war, to control the postal service, to fix tariff rates for international exchanges, to control diplomacy with foreign powers and to maintain armies. There was no suggestion that congress should intervene in questions of education, marriage and divorce, working the highways, relations of parents and children or of masters and servants or of property. Douglas pointed out that somehow must be regulated by law. Douglas insisted to every audience this system of government—how rocky and how Maine had been the brods of statures for which there was no occasion in Florida or on the prairies of Illinois and Iowa—how perfectly the needs of these diverse states were met with widely dissimilar laws. From 1854 to 1856 I heard him say to an immense out-door audience:

"You republicans glory in the statesmanship, the wisdom and foresight of the citizenship of the various states north and south who so perfectly laid aside their varying state governments. But when these same statesmen and patriots in groups with their families and property set out in Kansas and Nebraska, you insist that in crossing the muddy waters of the Missouri river mysterious and terrible physical or moral changes takes place that unfits them for the self government that has been so capitalized with the crown of glory in Massachusetts and Virginia, Illinois and Missouri and Iowa." And to orator or writer has much clearer.

As far as possible in the time at hand I shall speak of the Douglas side of the great controversy. The full and complete list of the speeches of Lincoln and Douglas in this year to be given to the public in the place of the very unfair pamphlet that appeared in 1858 by republican campaign document. I have only time now to notice one of the debts of the Republican Debate of 20 years ago that have caused misery and evil to the just and unjust criticism of Mr. Douglas. It has been universally alleged, accepted by Col. Clark E. Carr in his handsome resource history of the life of Lincoln "censured" Douglas by the question, framed under the decision of the supreme court in the Dred Scott case could slavery be kept out of the territories?" Douglas replied that Lincoln took a distinction which Springfield very recently had heard him answer two minutes after he had answered the same question on every "stump" in Illinois, in several southern cities. The very shabby ones were in Georgia. He had not brought out of the territory by "unfriendly legislation." He had said that most liberal falsehoods are on the general circulation over the "Freedom Question"—that it placed before his senator, but defeated him two years later for the presidency because the southern people would consent his answer. A thousand times had Jefferson Davis and other southern men heard Douglas make just the same thing to the senate. But the phrase, singularly common as a party with republican orators and editors. Now else did we get slavery out of Illinois in 1824 except by the vote of the sovereign people and a majority of 460 salvoes in Illinois except by "unfriendly legislation" in the form of statutes. law? Is it not better to suppress all such phrases of "unfriendly legislation" than by civil war?

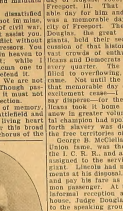
But Douglas in one of his speeches said: "I don't care whether slavery be voted up or down." Lincoln never did say it. But what contemptible pettifoggery in the second joint discussing that Douglas, who had sacrificed position and friends by his rebellious and slaves as a bold avowal of his abhorrence of slavery—Douglas was indifferent to that monstrous evil. He was indifferent to the rights of the people of the territory to settle the question for themselves under the constitution, not the question of how they should settle it. Two years ago I made scores of speeches championing the Military Tract people of the people to elect members of the legislature who would pass a law to enslave the people of man-slaves question. In every speech at that time I said: "I don't care

whether you vote saloons in or out. That is not the question now. The side question is shall the people have a right to vote upon the question? In this case, when we go, the local issue is the life of the nation."

I made the final speech of the last April to drive the traitor Douglas out of my city and county—was not grandmy city and every town except

These are illustrations of the issues of the great debate of 1858. I must rapidly close this address.

Douglas was the senatorship, but he was the people through the scores of southern democrats and the northern democrats who secured his election for the presidency. At last Douglas had the senate. He had defied, At last his boyhood friend, but political enemy, had reached the presidency more dear to him than Eugenie, Napoleon's empress. Then the election had not died away when Douglas, with the unconquerable will, with blinding and crime of sister, with the fearful energy of despair, filled the southland. Listing and the cry of secession and the cry of disunion. Lincoln was chosen. Douglas, with the sagacity of a statesman, hastened to Washington. The call for armed men from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. Douglas knew that he would not live to see the birth of May, 1861. He knew that the struggle would be long and bloody. By accident. Nearest to Abraham Lincoln in the procession as president of the United States was the little man who had come to Illinois a poor boy, who had made his fortune by the labor of his brain, who had defeated the ablest opponents: Senator Douglas, as the people's candidate. In the last flight of the nation—in the gaze of the world—Douglas, with the courage of a statesman and the fidelity of a patriot, grave to every living heart and heartbreak over this fearful tragedy, and, yet, swell the chorus of the



FREDERICK WATSON
Freeport pioneer who was present at the debate.

Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of their nature.

SENATOR DOUGLAS

His Loyal Speech at Springfield, April 25, 1861.

Senator Douglas was as loyal as any man in America. Between him and Mr. Lincoln belonged to different political parties, but their political rivals; in 1858 they had been political rivals in Illinois and Mr. Douglas had defeated Mr. Lincoln, who himself re-elected to the United States Senate. They had been rivals for the presidency of President in the campaign for the presidency in 1860, and Mr. Lincoln had been defeated, and Mr. Lincoln had been elected President of the United States. Mr. Lincoln delivered his first inaugural address on the east front of the capitol at Springfield, Illinois. Mr. Douglas was present and made a speech during the delivery of the inaugural address by the president of the United States and the following is from that speech, we print the following:

"Applause.—Let there be no division of the people of the southern section of our country. The majority section must not operate oppressively upon the minority. If they do, they will be resisted, and by the first of July, its headquarters will be in the city of Washington.

Let me frankly tell you that we cannot remain silent spectators while the abolition-secession civil war gotten up and instituted south and north. We had seen it coming for years. We had seen the elements of it which we have been pleading for compromise, fraternity and loyalty to the country and the union, and in vain. We have seen the unreal war coming. The word "compromise" was contemptuously spurned from the outstretched hand we heard the silly boast. "The north will not dare to fight." The north has dared to fight. Their horror of it all and their bitterness against the south.

"One southern state after another, the cotton states, the border states,